

# The American Review of Reviews

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

## Contents for December, 1927

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET.....FRONTISPIECE

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### PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND HIS CABINET IN A NEW PHOTOGRAPH

An unusually well-taken group photograph shows the President and the ten members of his Cabinet in a way that brings out the characteristic expression of every man. Seated at the left is Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War, with Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, on President Coolidge's right. On the other side of the President is Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. Next comes the Attorney General, Hon. John G. Sargent. At the end of the row is the Postmaster General, Harry S. New. Standing, left to right, are James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Agriculture William M. Jardine, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, and Secretary of the Navy Curtis Dwight Wilbur. The annual reports of the Department heads appearing toward the end of the year will form an extended account well worth study by citizens at large of the varied activities of our Government.



# The American Review of Reviews

Edited by *Albert Shaw*

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## The Progress of the World

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### *Popular Government Under Fire*

It is exceedingly difficult to carry on democratic institutions in a way that meets all the exacting tests of the individuals and groups who are identified with what is known as "political reform" or "good government." In a recent debate, it was seriously contended by an eminent observer and student of affairs that our scheme of popular self-government had proved in practice to be a dismal failure. There were days not many weeks ago when all the bolder headlines on the front pages of our most conservative newspapers dealt with matters involving crime, or scandal, or something worse than mere folly, in the conduct of public affairs by responsible officials. The trial of a former Cabinet officer for criminal conspiracy (in transferring to private interests under an improper lease certain very valuable oil lands that had been reserved for the future use of the Navy) was proceeding at Washington. It was holding large space in the newspapers day after day and week after week, and was receiving in the European press that measure of pleased publicity that is never denied to any scandalous news from America.

### *Some Widespread Scandals*

At Albany, Governor Smith had ordered an investigation of alleged irregularities and wasteful misuse of public funds in the taking of the State census of 1925. The inquiry had been conducted publicly, and had not only absorbed the attention of

every community, great and small, in the entire State, but had been echoed all the way across America. In Chicago, the head of the public-school system, Dr. William McAndrew, a veteran educator of high and well-merited repute, was in process of being ousted from his position at the demand of the Mayor of the City, William Hale Thompson. Among other charges against Dr. McAndrew was that of being a pro-British propagandist, and of having brought into use in the Chicago schools a set of textbooks designed to undermine the Americanism of the rising generation. Furthermore, this official inquisition was extended to an examination of books in the Chicago Public Library, with a view to putting works containing historical heresy upon an *index expurgatorius*. More or less exaggerated reports of this Chicago inquest were carried to the uttermost ends of the earth by the winged messengers who seem to find so much malicious delight in disseminating tidings of anything that may produce international irritation.

### *Official Misdoings in Hoosierdom*

Indianapolis is a typical American city of importance and distinction, although it does not rank in size with New York and Chicago. When a fine State of high traditions like Indiana is almost torn asunder with official scandals that involve one Governor after another, and when a beautiful capital city like Indianapolis, famed for its culture and its progress in the arts of

civilization, indicts its Mayor for trafficking in offices, and convicts him in the Criminal Court, it is obvious that such scandalous doings cannot be kept from comment outside the Hoosier family circle. The newspapers of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit and Cleveland were giving ample attention to these Indiana scandals, and even a New York public was reading about them in more condensed reports. These instances by no means complete the record of recent notorious things that reflect upon the character of our public administration. There is danger that many immature readers may jump at quite distorted conclusions.

*There Is  
a Brighter  
Side*

Quite apart from particular cases that tend to bring political life into disrepute, there is altogether too much tendency on the part of younger citizens to feel that matters of politics and government do not fit conveniently into their own personal schemes of work and play. With private programs that quite fill their time, they are rather glad as they glance at the endless news of investigations and scandals in public life that they themselves are in no way mixed up in politics. More thoughtful people, it is needless to say, are able to discriminate. They realize that it is absolutely necessary to insist upon high and intelligent standards, and to expose as fully as possible every serious abuse of public trust on the part of officials. People who have learned to be solicitous for the health of the community are justified in pointing to the continued prevalence of certain ravaging diseases among children, and to the baffling existence of tuberculosis, pneumonia, cancer and other maladies among adults. But those who sound the alarms about these things are the more in earnest because of the marvelous progress that has already been made in diminishing infant mortality, in protecting the lives and the health of growing children, and in reducing the average loss of efficiency among workers of all classes by reasons of illness. Not only has there been great improvement in the health of families, as a result of better conditions of living, but notably our communities are protected by sanitary regulations and the newer public health functions of governments. When, therefore, appeal is made for further improvement in some particular matter, the whole discussion is resting upon the background of achievements already made.

*The Milk  
Frauds in  
New York*

For example, New York City has been dealing with the problem of adulterated milk. It had been discovered some two years ago that a number of milk dealers were contributing to a fund that was used systematically to obtain immunity from sharp official inspection on the part of the public health officials who were charged with that particular duty. In the campaign of 1926, the Republican nominee for Governor, Hon. Ogden L. Mills, gave great prominence to this particular matter. He charged that Governor Smith had not shown sufficient energy in pushing the pending investigation of this subject, to the end that guilt might be located and offenders prosecuted. Mr. Mills declared that either by intention or in effect certain Tammany officials were being shielded, and that the so-called "milk graft" had been serious in extent. The inquiries that were pending in 1926 have at length resulted in a report showing that there was much truth in the charges; and certain former officials have been duly arraigned. Governor Smith had named a former Republican Judge, Hon. Charles H. Kelby, to make investigation, and indictments followed the Kelby findings. More than one million children entered the public schools of New York City with the opening of the present school year in September. Including infants and children below school age, undoubtedly there are more than two millions whose health might be regarded as involved in measures to insure a sanitary milk supply. Thus the subject is one of no slight importance.

*Conditions  
Forty Years  
Ago*

It would be unfortunate, however, if anyone should infer that the public health rules and regulations of a great city like New York are a farce, or that the children are not, in fact, safeguarded as against adulterated and infected milk. In point of fact, the present-day standards are exacting, the regulations are severe, and the results, considered as a whole, are excellent. This affords no excuse for complacency, and makes it all the more possible to detect and expose conspiracies for private profit through the violation of inspection rules. To understand the subject in all its bearings, it would be necessary to know the facts about the milk supply of the tenement districts of New York City forty years ago. Before Mr. Nathan Straus

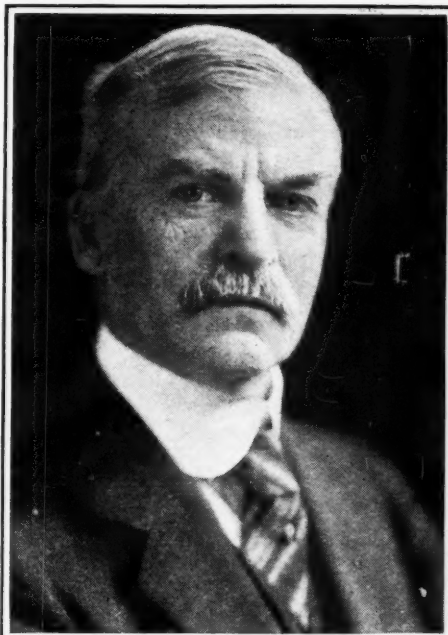
began his notable philanthropy of milk stations, supplying unadulterated, pasteurized milk to the poor children of the tenement house districts, it was practically impossible for mothers to obtain decent and wholesome milk for their young children. The worst conditions that the recent investigation has shown as regards the practices of certain dealers would perhaps compare favorably with the best conditions that could have been found in the most fortunate spots on the "East Side" during the decade preceding the year 1890.

*The Steady  
March of  
Progress*

Our comparison is intended for encouragement. It has been well worth while to strive for improved municipal government and better social conditions. In the old days of political saloons and commercialized vice, police corruption and official graft were so prevalent in New York City that many intelligent people were of opinion that such things were inevitable. In view of the quality, variety, and quantity of the metropolitan population, it was argued that things could not be radically changed for at least a hundred years. We are far, indeed, from having attained perfection; but those who think our greatest metropolis is at a low stage of decency and efficiency in its organized municipal life would gain some reassurance if they should consult a few people who were actually conversant with the conditions that confronted Theodore Roosevelt when he became chairman of the Police Commission in Mayor Strong's Administration.

*Politics  
at the Front  
Next Year*

We have just come through an election season in what is known as an off-year, when hundreds of thousands of voters neglected to register, noting the arrival of election day solely because of plans they had made for holiday diversion. To a great extent they will have a different view of the major political situations that lie before us as we are approaching the party contests and electoral campaigns of 1928. They expect to show interest as citizens, and at least to vote for presidential electors. Since the election of Governors in a large majority of the States will occur on the same date, and also the election of a new Congress as well as various local elections, the voter will perforce be inclined to take some notice of other contests than that for the chief



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**HON. THOMAS J. WALSH, SENATOR FROM  
MONTANA**

As a young Northwestern lawyer educated at the University of Wisconsin, after six years' practice in South Dakota, Thomas James Walsh moved to Helena, Montana, thirty-seven years ago. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1912, and reelected in 1918 and 1924. To his efforts as head of a Senate investigating committee in 1923 the exposure and prosecution of the so-called oil scandals were principally due.

magistracy of the nation. It is worth while, therefore, to call attention to the relative significance of some of the things that will be used as campaign material by one party or the other.

*"Oil Scandals"  
Now Under  
Prosecution*

For example, we have the so-called oil scandals at Washington. It happens that these date back to the Harding Administration. The most active man in their exposure was a Democratic Senator, Mr. Walsh, of Montana. President Harding's death came too soon to permit him to have any part in the endeavor to clear up charges and to see that such offenses were followed by civil and criminal actions in the courts. But his disposition to deal with corrupt situations was shown in his treatment of the misconduct of officials in the sale of war material, and in certain other ways. Mr. Coolidge, taking up the reins of authority on President Harding's death, in the late sum-



HON. PIERCE BUTLER, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF  
THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Butler is a native of Minnesota and a graduate of Carleton College. He was admitted to the Minnesota bar forty years ago, practising at St. Paul and serving for many years as a Regent of the State University. He was principally engaged as counsel of railroads and corporations. He has now served five years on the Supreme Bench. His opinion in the Teapot Dome case paved the way for the pending criminal prosecutions.

mer of 1923, proceeded calmly and without flurry, but with no spirit of partisan evasion, to reorganize the Cabinet and to submit all charges of fraud and malfeasance to the federal courts. Partisan Democrats who had taken it for granted that the country would reward their party and punish their opponents in the election of 1924 were doomed to disappointment. Mr. Coolidge was elected by an immense majority over an admirable Democratic candidate, Mr. John W. Davis. The courts in civil actions have now restored all of the leased oil lands to the Government.

*The Civil  
Suit as  
Decided*

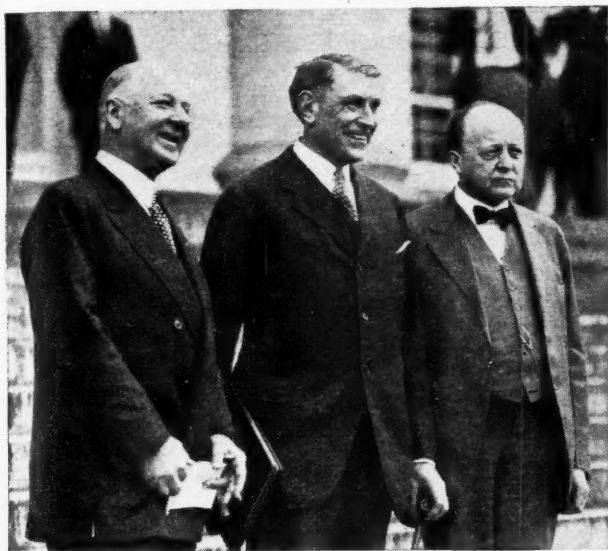
The opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the civil suit confirming the cancellation of the Teapot Dome lease to the Sinclair interests had been handed down on October 10. The extensive review of this complicated case as prepared by Associate Justice Pierce Butler had represented the full court, no member dissenting. The

Government had originated this civil action in the United States District Court of Wyoming, where it lost both of its contentions, first, that the lease had been made without due warrant in the law, and second, that it had been made by fraudulent collusion. The Circuit Court of Appeals, although agreeing that the Government officials had power to make the lease, ordered it to be cancelled on the ground that the transaction itself was corrupt and fraudulent. The Supreme Court, while strongly sustaining the contention that the lease was made by fraudulent collusion, also seems to support the Government counsel in their argument that the officials were without legal power to take the course that they pursued. The result of this October decision was to restore the Teapot Dome property to the Government, and to subject the Sinclair interests to an accounting for their extensive activities while in control of the situation.

*The  
Criminal  
Action*

It was the scathing review of the case in this civil action as handed down by the Supreme Court that lent such ominous significance to the criminal trial in the District of Columbia that followed shortly after. Indictments were brought against the former Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, and against the wealthy head of various oil corporations, Mr. Harry F. Sinclair. When the jury was impanelled (consisting of two women and ten men), there was much surprise among thoughtful readers of newspapers regarding the apparent lack of the kind of training and experience that would seem to have fitted the members for a case of this kind. The prosecution was at the hands of eminent lawyers who had been appointed by the President of the United States, while the defendants on their part were in position to spend millions of dollars if necessary to escape conviction, with similarly prominent legal counsel. The Supreme Court in the civil suit had not hesitated to call these men guilty of corruption and fraud. Their position was grave in the extreme. The prosecution was reaching the climax of the case in an endeavor to show the origin of Liberty Bonds to the amount of \$230,500 that had been received on behalf of Mr. Fall by his son-in-law, Mr. Everhart, in the East and carried West, where they were duly deposited for Mr. Fall's benefit in a Colorado bank.





**THE GOVERNMENT'S COUNSEL**

From left to right: Peyton Gordon, Owen J. Roberts, and Atlee Pomerene.



**HARRY F. SINCLAIR**

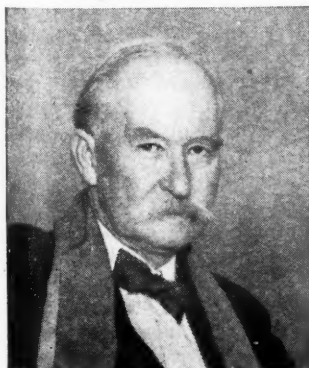
Cil producer, who will again be tried with former Secretary Fall early next year, as a result of the recent mistrial.



**WILLIAM J. BURNS**

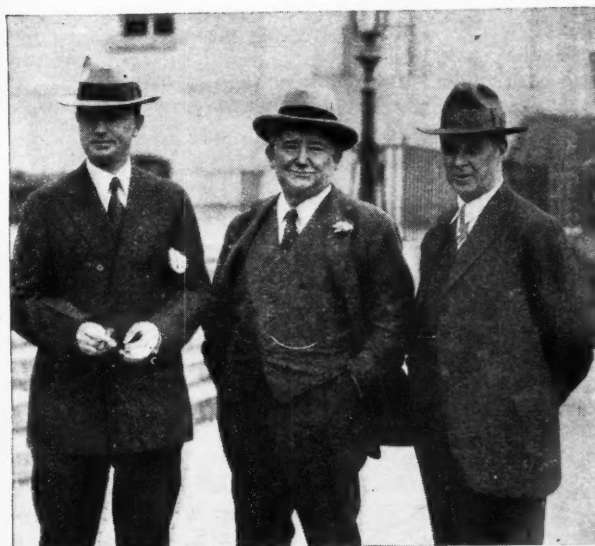
Head of a detective agency.

**PRINCIPALS IN THE  
GOVERNMENT'S SUIT  
AGAINST MR. FALL  
AND MR. SINCLAIR.**



**ALBERT B. FALL**

Former Secretary of the Interior.



**MR. SINCLAIR'S LEGAL ADVISERS**

Left to right: George P. Hoover, Martin W. Littleton, and G. P. Sanford.



*The  
Jury  
Dismissed*

Mr. Everhart on the witness stand had refused to tell the source of the bonds on the ground that to testify would tend to admit his own criminality in the transaction. Meanwhile, it was stated that the origin of the bonds could be proved by other testimony. With the trial having reached this stage, a new sensation stirred the emotions of the entire country. It was charged by the prosecution that Mr. Sinclair, through certain business associates, had retained a detective agency to shadow the jurors with a view to finding means by which influence might be brought to bear to prevent unanimous agreement upon a verdict. Affidavits were presented to the trial judge, who after careful consideration declared a mistrial and dismissed the jury, the lawyers on both sides agreeing that this was a necessary step to take. This collapse of the trial, after fifteen days occupied with the taking of testimony in the Government's case, occurred on November 2. It was announced that the new trial would not begin until the 16th of January. Meanwhile a Grand Jury was examining a long line of detectives who had been employed to shadow jurors, and was seeking to fix the blame.

*Spies and  
Sensations*

As the grand jury investigation proceeded, one sensation followed another. It transpired that one of the shadowing detectives had been playing a double rôle, reporting regularly to the District Attorney's office the devious methods alleged to have been used by the detective agency. The fact is that the most elaborate espionage system ever employed, so far as any one knows, with a view to the chance of bringing a jury into discredit and of producing a mistrial, was set up in this case. The head of the detective agency loudly charged that the Government itself was engaged in jury tampering. But this had been promptly and conclusively denied. Even if the explanation of the detective agency and of the associates of Mr. Sinclair had been accepted at face value, their methods would have been altogether reprehensible.

*Jury  
Reform  
Needed*

Obviously it would be difficult for prosecutors by improper methods to persuade an unconvinced American jury to agree upon a verdict of guilty. But for a wealthy defendant to persuade one or more jurors that

it might be to their advantage to find themselves unconvinced as to the guilt of such powerful defendant, is by no means so far from possible. The jury in this Sinclair-Fall case was made up of people of the kind who might be expected to serve in an ordinary case of larceny or assault. In a Government case of such exceptional importance, the laws ought to make it possible to impanel a jury equal in intelligence and in character to the ablest professional and business men of the District of Columbia. As a part of the reform in our criminal procedure that thoughtful people everywhere are now demanding, not the least is a change in the method of securing trial juries. We have no thought of reflecting needlessly upon the character of the jury that was dismissed last month by Judge Siddons. Nevertheless, in a case of that kind the jury ought to be equal in general education and in personal standing to the lawyers in the case, and to the judge himself. Useful as this would be, it is of course not possible in the present case.

*Who  
Were at  
Fault?*

The essential thing for the country is the thorough ventilation of all these governmental scandals, rather than the punishment of any individual. Certain high officers in the Navy, and also some civilian officials in the Navy and the Interior Departments, had been led to think that the safety of the country required the immediate building of great storage tanks, to be supplied with fuel oil as quickly and as secretly as possible. They were unable to see the absurdity of their fears; and they were blinded as to propriety of their conduct in taking things into their own hands. Their participation in the scheme—let us concede, with the best of intentions—gave an opportunity for favoritism in the granting of oil leases, and in the arrangements for erecting the storage tanks and supplying them with oil. There resulted the scandals that turned mainly upon the personal activities of Secretary Fall. Mr. Harding had selected a conspicuously able and patriotic Cabinet, if one considers the group of department heads in its entirety. Even in the case of two selections that proved to be unfortunate, commendations had been of the highest and the Senate had confirmed the appointments without question or misgiving. These two were Secretaries Denby of the Navy and Fall of the Interior.

*The Harding  
Period in  
History*

Since we are approaching another presidential election, with the likelihood that there will be some tendency to revive the old-fashioned kind of partisan recrimination, it cannot be out of order to remind our readers that the Harding Administration will not stand badly in history. To say this is not to join in any attempt to minimize Mr. Harding's mistakes. As against a great number of admirable appointments, the President made a few, possibly a dozen, that were conspicuously bad. Where men claimed that they were his friends and had been of service to him, demanding particular offices as their rewards, Mr. Harding found it almost impossible to refuse. Unworthy men who thus succeed in obtaining high posts seldom come through the ordeal with credit to themselves. Even from the strictly selfish point of view, it is better to let the office seek the man; and this is strikingly illustrated by a series of personal examples provided for us by the Harding Administration. To state all this frankly, however, is not going to be of any marked benefit to the Democrats, because the self-seeking type of politician is equally distributed between the two parties. Such men come to the front, of course, when their party is in power and the spoils are thus available.

*The Economy  
Program at  
Washington*

That the Coolidge Administration has striven sincerely to prevent the waste of public funds, and to make the business of Government honest and efficient, is a statement that will not be successfully refuted. That it has not altogether succeeded is equally true. The official way of getting anything done is cumbersome and expensive. A great many people have been dropped from the payrolls at Washington, as we have been returning to normal conditions since the population of the District of Columbia had been suddenly doubled by the extra clerks and officials of the war period. But undoubtedly our best private business organizations could to-day do the Government work that is done at Washington for two-thirds of the money and with a further 30 or 40 per cent. shrinkage of personnel. Once in a while a blunt individual, working inside of the official machine, expresses his opinions too publicly, and he is disciplined. Admiral Magruder, whose views about the present condition of the Navy in recent articles were summarized in this periodical

last month, has been removed by the Secretary of the Navy from his command of the Navy Yard and station at Philadelphia.

*The Case  
of Admiral  
Magruder*

This officer has had a long record of varied and honorable service that would seem to entitle him to speak his mind freely. Doubtless there are other Admirals, as well as civil officials, who think that Admiral Magruder is mistaken in his opinions. Why not discuss freely the charge that we are maintaining a number of navy yards quite needlessly and wastefully? What is the answer to the assertion that the naval service is topheavy with Rear Admirals commanding tugboats, so to speak? There should be no difficulty in obtaining as wide publicity for the defense as was given to the attack. It is the Washington point of view that Admiral Magruder should have submitted to the Navy Department, for advance approval, anything that he had written for publication. There is much to be said for this attitude on the part of Secretary Wilbur. But most good rules have their exceptions and public opinion seems rather inclined to feel that an exception should have been made in the case of Admiral Magruder. The unnecessary navy yards, as almost everybody knows, are maintained, first, because of the tenacity of their historical traditions, and, second, because local interests are always logrolling in Congress to keep them from being abandoned and sold out. As for the topheavy personnel of the Navy, it is to be said that we have never at any time trained a larger number of young men at the Annapolis Naval Academy than we ought to have prepared for maritime service. Therefore, the country should not be too prompt in applying strict rules of efficiency experts to the status of naval officers who have been duly promoted to the higher ranks.

*The Need  
of Trained  
Officers*

It is necessary for us to maintain our maritime position, and thus, looking to the future, it is a good investment to treat naval officers well, as they approach the retiring age. These are subjects that the Admirals themselves are best fitted to discuss; and it is hard to see what harm could result from allowing them to argue every phase of the business pro and con. Congress in any case will investigate openly and will debate freely; so that the criticisms of an

Admiral or two, more or less, ought not to disturb the equanimity of the Secretary of the Navy. What the country wants now is to know that there is no grafting and no concealed waste. Our costly attempts to maintain the merchant marine that was improvised by us—so extravagantly, and upon lines of policy so utterly futile—in the war period, have naturally caused the country a good deal of anxiety regarding our present and future place upon the seas, whether militant or commercial. It is well, therefore, to regard all phases of these matters as freely open for discussion. What we need just now is the assurance that there is wisdom and intelligence available to guide our policies, rather than to be told that we have a disciplined navy that takes no part in the pending discussion. Congress will have to consider various proposals relating to our merchant marine, as well as to the building of new cruisers; and the two subjects are closely related.

*The Census  
Issue in  
New York*

It has been stated that there are now only 1,400 places in the regular public services of the State of New York that are exempt from appointment under civil service rules. Even in the case of such exempt positions the appointments have to be referred to the Civil Service Commission as a matter of form. These exemptions do not include, however, a function of the State that is brought into exercise only once every ten years; namely, the taking of a census midway between the nation-wide enumerations required by the Federal Constitution. New York is one of several States that have for a considerable time past taken a census in the middle of each decade. Such a census is needed nominally for a rearrangement of legislative districts. But it is also available, if well conducted, for a considerable variety of purposes. Exact statistical knowledge is useful on many accounts. There are State school funds to be distributed, and there is public-health work based upon information about conditions existing in sanitary districts. Whether or not the State census is worth while, considering its cost, is a matter of opinion. In view, however, of remarkable recent trends of population from country to city, and of the incoming and distribution of immigrants, the best authorities are of opinion that New York ought to take a State census five years after each federal enumeration.

*Census-  
Taking in  
1925*

For the State census of 1925, the legislature appropriated the sum of \$1,200,000. Under the law, the Secretary of State is charged with the duty of using this fund in such a way as to make a complete enumeration, to secure answers to the various questions on the schedule, and so to tabulate the returns as to make them available. The first woman to be elected to a high State office in New York was Mrs. Florence S. Knapp, of Syracuse, a teacher who had become head of a domestic science or home economics school, had been active in the suffrage movement, and had enlisted ambitiously in Republican party politics. Governor Smith, at the head of the Democratic ticket, was successful in the 1924 campaign, but otherwise the Republican State ticket prevailed, Mrs. Knapp becoming Secretary of State and Mr. Ottinger Attorney-General. The taking of the census under the law required an army of local enumerators and a supervisor for each county. These were appointed by Mrs. Knapp; and since the enumeration was to occupy only a few days or weeks, the civil service regulations were not applicable, although all appointments should under the law have been passed through the offices of the Civil Service Commission.

*A Work  
Never  
Completed*

Besides appointing the county supervisors, it was Mrs. Knapp's prerogative to name some 8,000 local enumerators. Very little attention was paid by the newspapers to the taking of the census of 1925, and the larger public of course could know nothing about a matter of that kind, apart from what appeared in the press. In localities, as in New York City, there was some question as to whether the count had been full and complete. And in certain quarters there was complaint because in due time the \$1,200,000 had been expended, while the tabulations were far from being accomplished. This matter came up in the legislature last winter, when, with the Governor's approval, a further appropriation was demanded in order to bring the collected data into such tabulated form as to be useful. Completion of the work was urged especially by an organization known as the Cities Census Committee. This committee represented the interest of various philanthropic and public-spirited bodies in having the kind of census that would be available in

supplying data for health and welfare work. Failure to obtain the needed supplementary appropriation led, step by step, to an increasingly thorough examination of the manner in which the original \$1,200,000 had been spent. This took form in a report to Governor Smith, who referred the matter to the Attorney-General, with the result that a preliminary investigation was ordered under what is known as the Moreland Act. Mr. Le Boeuf, a young Republican lawyer, was instructed to take testimony regarding the census of 1925 and make a report, starting with the information offered by the Cities Census Committee.



DR. WALTER LAIDLAW, CHIEF CRITIC OF THE NEW YORK STATE CENSUS OF 1925, GIVING TESTIMONY AT ALBANY

Dr. Laidlaw, who was educated as a clergyman, has had wide experience in religious and social work, and has for many years been an authority upon conditions in New York City. As a census expert, and executive secretary of the Cities Census Committee, his report led to the official investigation recently made of the expenditures for the New York State Census of 1925.

*Politics  
Versus  
Statistics*

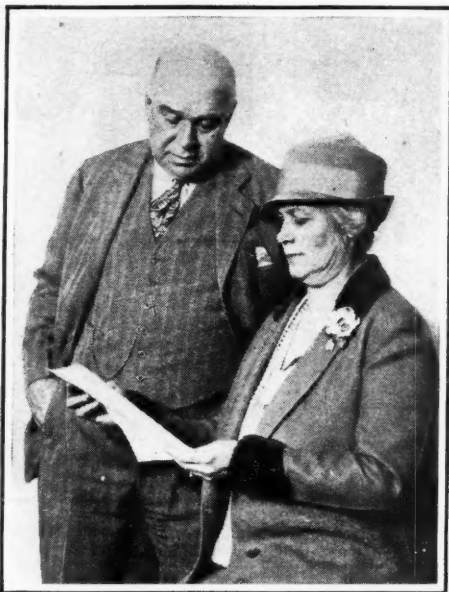
It was at once shown that the census of 1925 had been made a matter of Republican patronage, and that beside the regular county supervisors a large number of people had been appointed as "assistant supervisors," whose salaries in many cases were larger than those paid the regular supervisors, and some of whom received State money without rendering any corresponding services. Mrs. Knapp was no longer in office, and although the testimony reflected most severely upon her official conduct, she did not appear before Mr. Le Boeuf to explain and defend her methods. We have no inclination to pass judgment upon the conduct of any individual in advance of Mr. Le Boeuf's report. It is enough at this juncture to call attention to the fact that a piece of statistical work that ought to have been done by experts can not be well done by people acting primarily as professional party politicians. Already it may be said with assurance that this particular kind of sloppy performance will not be repeated, and that, if New York State takes a census in 1935, it will be non-political, relatively inexpensive, and sharply efficient. Nothing could better illustrate the wholesome processes by which our democratic self-government corrects its bad tendencies and its foolish or corrupt activities than the opinion-

forming result of the open hearings before Commissioner Le Boeuf at Albany.

*Women  
in  
Office*

There will, also, be marked results in the form of lessons for ambitious women who seek political office. They will have learned that the worst possible guides, philosophers, and friends in their public careers are the old-line, hard-boiled, male politicians. Women are expected by men to bring into our political life not only high moral standards of honor and duty, but a superior talent for getting their money's worth. Women are typically more thrifty than men in managing expenditures. It is not probable that the methods used in distributing the New York census appropriation of \$1,200,000 could have originated in the mind of a woman school teacher who had made her own way in life, and who had been a professor of "home economics." These were the methods that New York Republican politicians had long ago borrowed from Tammany Hall politicians. They had all grown up in the belief that political offices were for private benefit, and that it was a virtuous thing to be open-handed and free in the distribution of public funds to one's personal friends. And, particularly, they held the creed that the judicious use of





MRS. FLORENCE S. KNAPP, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE OF NEW YORK, WITH HER LEGAL ADVISER, MR. ALEXANDER OTIS

public money in such a way as to make new friends here and there, who would be useful in promoting one's political aims and ambitions for the future, was justified and wise. Under the new form of government in New York, the Secretary of State is not elected by the people but is appointed by the Governor. If New York takes a census in 1935, the Governor will not fail to know exactly how it is taken, because he will be held strictly accountable. One of the constitutional amendments adopted on November 8 definitely fixes the authority of the Governor over the whole business of State administration. Another amendment gives the executive budget an established place in the fiscal affairs of the Empire State. Furthermore, the Secretary of State has already become an appointive office. If these excellent reforms had been achieved, as they ought to have been, a dozen years ago, the census of 1925 would have been business-like, and far less costly.

*New York  
City's Swollen  
Budget*

There has been much arguing and contending in New York City over the final adjustment of the budget for the coming year. It was finally fixed last month at about \$513,000,000. This expenditure of a single

city for the cost of city government during a twelve-month is equal to the entire outlay of the Government of the United States for all purposes, including army and navy, interest on public debt, internal improvements, maintenance of Government departments, diplomatic and consular service, and everything else, about thirty years ago. It is not easy for the city of New York to spend half a billion dollars in a year with strict regard for honesty and economy in obtaining desired results. But at least there is no mystery about the greater part of the expenditures. With more than a million children in the public schools, about a quarter of the budget is required for the item of education. There has been a considerable increase in teachers' salaries upon carefully worked out schedules, which involve no recklessness or favoritism. The police organization now costs \$45,000,000. Upon the items of administration affecting the public health, we find an expenditure that is none too large, in view of the value of the service. The cost of New York's government is therefore high. That the new budget of more than five hundred million dollars was hailed as having been achieved with no rise in the tax rate is small comfort to the taxpayer, who often has a higher tax bill nevertheless. The difference is made up by raising assessments while leaving the rate undisturbed.

*Chicago's  
Anti-British  
Crusade*

Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago should have kept in mind the old adage regarding the proper way to cook a hare. "You first catch your hare," runs the injunction. It became quite clear last month that Mayor Thompson had begun his noisily proclaimed organization to combat British propaganda in America before he had been at pains to find out anything at all about the subject. If he had mentioned the matter ten or eleven years ago and had known how to get at the truth, he might have found some interesting facts to proceed upon. It is quite true that there were a few American college professors (of slight previous experience out in the rough world of affairs) who quite lost their heads and who became the unwitting tools of foreign agents in the United States. It would be a wholesome thing if the men who possess the hidden facts about the organized propaganda of the war period would tell us what they know without reserve.



It happens that two Englishmen, each of them of the highest standing in literature, journalism, and public affairs, working quite independently and from different standpoints, are proposing in the near future to publish volumes dealing with this very subject. There are two or three Americans who could tell much about the methods used by British and French agents in the United States to capture American public opinion for the cause of the Allies. There was also German propaganda, but it was fully exposed soon after we had declared war. The German methods in the United States were far more offensive, even as they were more clumsy, than those of the Allies.

*School Books  
and  
Patriotism*

As for the school books about which Mayor Thompson has heard, they should, of course, present the subject of American independence from the accepted American standpoint. It is quite proper that Washington and the other founders of our republic should be held up to school children as great men, associated with achievements of the most profound importance. But several of the writers mentioned in the Chicago crusade, like Professor Albert Bushnell Hart and Professor David Muzzey, are at once thorough scholars and patriotic, full-blooded Americans. As for the head of the Chicago school system, Dr. McAndrew, it would seem incredible that anybody of ordinary intelligence should criticize him as under the influence of anti-American movements. To have proposed to burn reputable books that are on the shelves of the vast Public Library of Chicago was simply to make sure that the whole world would hold up our metropolis on Lake Michigan to unmerciful ridicule. Even so foolish and ignorant a book as that by Dean Inge (which was under criticism) ought by all means to be widely circulated if Mayor Thompson wishes to intensify bad feeling. The Dean's insolence and bitter ill-will disclose frankly the hostility of certain elements in England toward the United States. The Dean of St. Paul's hates America far more than the Mayor of Chicago hates England. Sensible Englishmen and Americans ignore their disparaging exchanges.

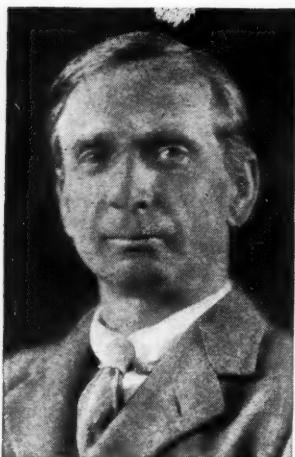


MAYOR THOMPSON'S HISTORY CENSORS IN THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

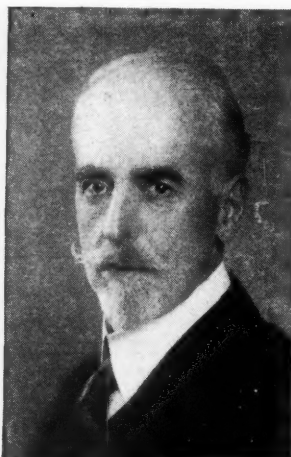
At the left is Mr. Hugh J. Herrmann, recently appointed by the Mayor as a member of the Public Library Board, and at the right is Mr. John J. Gorman, former Congressman. These gentlemen have been reading text books written by professors of American history.

*Friendliness  
Will  
Prevail*

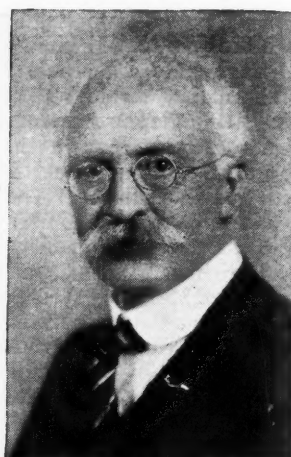
Right-minded and well-instructed Americans stand solidly for their own country, and wish other countries well as long as they deserve it. Chicago is quite as intelligent a place as New York or London, but its intelligence is not always in control of its municipal affairs. Mayor Thompson will not find any current evidences of British propaganda, and therefore his proposal to form a great "America First" Society, with the support of the Mayors of all other cities, will fall flat. He will find that there are disagreeable and supercilious things said against America by English authors and editors; but it is desirable that we should know what such people say. Of course their flings and carplings are the very farthest remove from what is known as "propaganda." Friendly Englishmen, broadly educated and wholly sincere, who come to this country are always welcome wherever they go, and nowhere more certainly than in Chicago. Such Englishmen among our latest visitors are editors like Mr. Wickham Steed, Mr. J. Alfred Spender, Mr. Walter Layton of the London *Economist*, Sir Henry Lunn, and many others. A society like the English-speaking Union, in its exercise of hospitality and its efforts to promote good understanding, serves



Walter T. Layton



Henry Wickham Steed



J. Alfred Spender

### THREE ENGLISH EDITORS WHO WERE NOVEMBER VISITORS IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Layton has been editor of the *London Economist* since 1922, and is one of the most scholarly and brilliant of living writers on business subjects. Mr. Steed is now the editor and publisher of the *English Review of Reviews*. He was for a long period a European correspondent of the *London Times* and later its editor. Mr. Spender for a quarter of a century edited the *Westminster Gazette* and is one of two brothers similarly famous as journalists.

both countries well. As for the "British Library of Information" in New York, it has always been ready to be of use to editors by helping them to get at documents, reports, and matters of up-to-date information; but it has never done anything not strictly praiseworthy from the standpoint of the most aggressively loyal American. Its work has not savored in the smallest degree of propaganda, and its only fault, if it has had any at all, has been in its modesty and almost excessively scrupulous care to avoid anything that could be criticized as an attempt to exercise British influence upon American soil. Mayor Thompson, in short, should have caught his hare before he set out the feast and invited his guests.

#### *A Spirit of Hope and Courage*

In earlier pages of this monthly editorial comment, we have discussed some of the less creditable incidents and phases of governmental business that have forced themselves upon public attention during the current year 1927. It is plain that the country is firmly resolved to remedy such abuses, and to vindicate the quality and character of our popular self-government. In spite of disasters and drawbacks, the country looks forward with high hopes and undaunted spirit to the work that lies ahead of it as we approach the year 1928.

Armistice Day, November 11, reminded us that nine years had gone rapidly since the last shots were fired in the Great War, and that we have now entered upon the tenth year of peace. The ninth year has been one of rather gloomy forebodings in Europe; but upon the whole it has witnessed remarkable economic recovery, with no immediate danger of a war that nobody is seeking, and that could bring no probable gain to any country. It is not always easy to differentiate the aggressor in an international conflict where all the facts and circumstances are in dispute. But if one government is willing to accept the processes of conciliation and arbitration, while its enemy refuses to accept, it will become necessary for the world to hold such refusal as an affront and as a menace to the world's peace. It is to be hoped that the year 1928 may record decided gains in international concord.

#### *Dealing with Particular Issues*

International conferences, and frank discussion of proposals for gradual disarmament, are doubtless valuable in their relation to world opinion, even though they may be disappointing in their immediate results. Of much greater consequence at the present time is the actual promotion of good relations by particular governments, and the removal as rapidly as possible of specific causes of disagreement. For example, as

between the United States and France, there has been a difference about tariff questions. The matters involved have been of very small intrinsic importance. The two Governments have been negotiating over their mutual tariff arrangements in a friendly spirit. The press, however, particularly in Europe, has shown reckless tendencies that create needless prejudice. Much more serious have been the differences between the United States and Mexico. Mr. Morrow, our new Ambassador, has been received with every mark of respect and esteem, but it will always be difficult to deal with a country whose government is founded upon violence rather than upon obedience to law.

*Havana  
and the  
Western World*

The gathering at Havana in January of the official representatives of the republics of the Western Hemisphere will be the most impressive of all the occasions that will mark the beginning of a new year. On November 1, President Coolidge announced the names of the delegates who will attend this Pan-American Conference to represent the United States. Very fittingly, our group will be headed by The Hon. Charles E. Hughes; and a distinguished member of it will be former Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama. Another member will be Hon. Henry P. Fletcher, now Ambassador to Italy, but at various times our representative in several Latin-American capitals. Mr. Morrow will attend the conference, crossing to Havana from Mexico City. Our new Ambassador to Cuba will be included in the list. Three men of scholarly attainments and of high qualifications who go as members of the delegation are Dr. Leo S. Rowe of the Pan-American Union, Dr. James Brown Scott, distinguished authority in international law, and President Wilbur of the Leland Stanford University, who presided at the recent conference at Honolulu of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Former Judge Morgan J. O'Brien of New York completes the group of distinguished experts, being an international lawyer and jurist of renown.

*Our Relations  
with American  
Republics*

It is expected that Mr. Kellogg will go to Cuba in his capacity as Secretary of State; and it has been announced that President Coolidge will make the journey as the guest of President Gerardo Machado of Cuba, and



**GERARDO MACHADO, PRESIDENT OF CUBA**  
General Machado, who was elected in November, 1924, took office on May 20, 1925, to fill a four-year term. His record is that of a patriot in the liberation struggle of thirty years ago, and an able economic leader in Cuba's present-day policies.

address the Conference, unless he should be detained at Washington by public business. It is to be hoped that Mr. Coolidge will find it possible to attend. It is somewhat difficult to discover the origin of all the recent attacks upon the United States in various parts of Spanish-speaking America. We are accused of "imperialistic" designs that deserve the resentment of our neighbors to the southward. It is, of course, a simple matter of historical fact that the United States, far from having imperialistic designs, has for more than a hundred years stood as the protector of American republics against the encroachments and aggressions of at least four imperialistic European Governments. If the United States had cherished any designs similar to those of the Europeans, Cuba would not now be enjoying her position as an independent and prosperous republic, extending hospitality at her beautiful capital to as distinguished a body of official representatives as has ever been assembled at any time or place in the Western Hemisphere. Commercial interests, though not directly represented, will be keen observers at Havana.

*Prejudice and  
Commercial  
Rivalry*

If the United States had shown a disposition in any way similar to that of the governments of Europe in their colonial policies, the republic of Panama would not now be represented at Geneva, would not be sending delegates to the Congress at Havana, and would not be freely granting large concessions to British oil, mining, and land companies. The entire outlook of all the islands and coastal regions around the Caribbean Sea is transformed for the better in agriculture, in commerce, and in more stable conditions of government by reason of the beneficent efforts and influences of the United States. The criticisms of the United States in South American countries that are intended to create prejudice against us would be found in the main to have been instigated by European rivalry for trade and commercial advantage. It is altogether desirable from the standpoint of the developing countries of Latin America that European markets should be open to them for their foodstuffs and raw materials, and that manufactured commodities bought in exchange should not come exclusively from the United States, but should also come from the exporting countries of Europe. European Governments are doing everything possible to support their own industries and merchant shipping in their endeavor to build up foreign markets. Our Department of Commerce is alert and well organized, and it is reasonable to expect that Congress will give careful heed to our position in South American markets.

*Congress  
and the  
Surplus*

The new Congress, entering upon its duties on December 5, will have a large amount of business of unusual importance pressing upon its calendars. In the first place, it will have to deal with the question of taxation. The tax law of 1924 is yielding an excess of revenue that will justify some lowering of income-tax rates, and the abolition of some forms of taxation. Secretary Mellon, supported by the Administration, does not think it wise to cut the revenue down by more than \$225,000,000. Some of the Democratic leaders, supported also by business organizations, have believed that we should reduce the tax burden by from \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000. There are others who are not so eager for tax reduction because they are hoping to secure large appropriations out of abundant rev-

enues for various enterprises to which they are committed. Some financiers believe that we should not reduce taxation too severely because of permanent benefits from a continuance of our policy of rapid reduction of the war debt. The outcome will have to be a compromise. If we should reduce the revenue by an amount not in any case to exceed \$300,000,000, it would still be possible to continue the public debt financing that results in a steady reduction of the annual interest charge; and we should at the same time have money enough to make appropriations to initiate some desirable undertakings.

*Plans to  
Control the  
Mississippi*

The most pressing of these new undertakings, as few would deny, will be the engineering program for the protection of the Lower Mississippi Valley. Thirty-one States in whole or in part are included in the drainage basin of the Mississippi. It might be a long time before floods so disastrous in extent would again menace the Southern States of the great valley. But there is no law of periodicity that applies, and there might be a recurrence of such inundation in any year. Remedies are applicable, and the task is primarily a national one as regards the adoption of a comprehensive plan of river control. Also, the management of the necessary engineering works and the provision for their cost must be a federal rather than a State or local affair, although doubtless there are subsidiary works within States that ought to be undertaken as local enterprises. Public opinion throughout the country is fully committed to the adoption by the present Congress of a comprehensive plan for dealing with this flood situation.

*The  
Colorado River  
Problem*

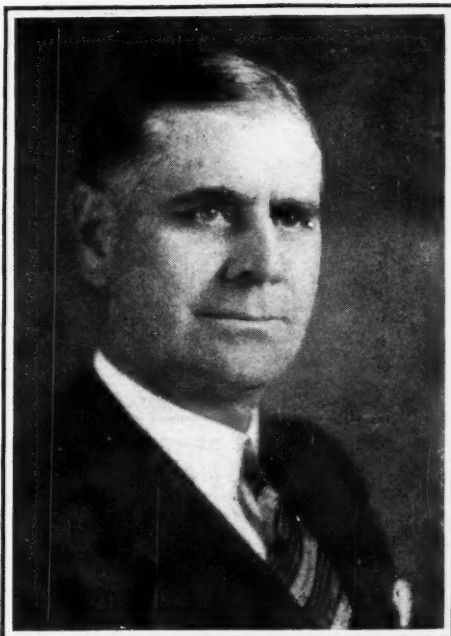
There is another river problem that ought also to be dealt with and if possible to be finally settled by the present Congress. The country is less fully informed about the Colorado River situation than about that of the Lower Mississippi. But if a tremendous flood should sweep away certain existing barriers and engulf the Imperial Valley of southern California that lies below sea-level, the disaster would be appalling. Then there would be a stern assignment of blame for a kind of local selfishness that had prevented agreement upon a plan. We are publishing two articles in this number



that should duly enlighten all readers regarding this Colorado River situation. Seven States are affected immediately, while in indirect ways—having a bearing upon transportation and trade—several additional States are involved, as also are our relations with Mexico. Dr. Newell, formerly head of the Reclamation Service and a distinguished authority, gives us an admirable account of the Colorado River problem in its physical aspects. Every high-school class studying the geographical and economic conditions of America would do well to take Dr. Newell's article for a lesson and to master its facts thoroughly.

*Adjustment  
of a Difficult  
Dispute*

The second article is by the Hon. Dwight B. Heard of Arizona, and it tells us of the attempts of the seven States to agree upon their relative interests in the undertaking as a whole. These seven States have recently held among themselves an official conference lasting for a month at Denver, Colorado, under the chairmanship of Governor Dern of Utah. Mr. Heard, as one of the most capable students of the subject and an active participant in the recent conference, presents the question in all its practical aspects. The chief obstacle to the fulfilment of the plan that was tentatively adopted five years ago lay in the differences between Arizona and California as to the division of benefits. To the outsider, it would seem that Arizona has much the greater legal claim, while Los Angeles and southern California have much the greater present necessity. The rival claims have to be adjusted by some disinterested and friendly agencies; and it is evident that the verdicts reached by the more northerly group of affected States—particularly Colorado and Utah—ought to be accepted by Arizona and California. The proposed dams and public works would be exceedingly expensive; but the amount of hydro-electric power theoretically possible would equal four-fifths of all that which is now in use in the United States. If the Federal Government should advance money, it would seem reasonable and just that California, Arizona, and the other benefited States should pay enough for their use of impounded water and of hydro-electric power to repay principal and interest over a period of years. An issue of bonds for this improvement, guaranteed by the United States, could readily be sold to investors.



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**HON. GEORGE HENRY DERN, GOVERNOR  
OF UTAH**

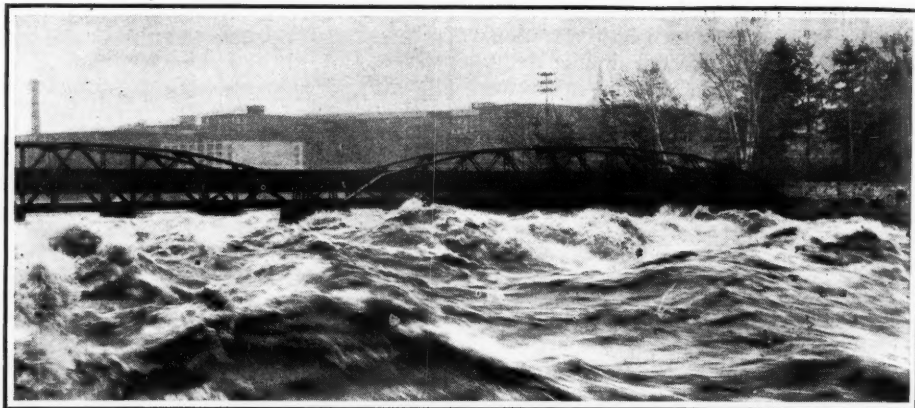
Born in Nebraska fifty-five years ago, Mr. Dern began a highly successful mining and business career in Utah at the age of twenty-two. Serving in the State Senate 1915-23, he became Governor in 1925, after election as a Democrat. He is universally praised for his energy and broad public spirit in bringing together and presiding over the recent Colorado River interstate conference which met at Denver.

It is desirable that American capital should thus be used for the welfare of our own States, and there could be no better investment.

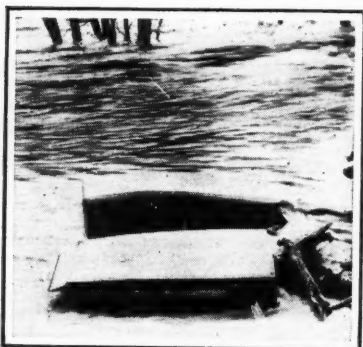
*Rivers  
as Assets and  
Liabilities*

Besides the Mississippi River and the Colorado River projects, Congress has still on its hands the problem of the ultimate disposition of the Government's hydro-electric project at Muscle Shoals in northern Alabama. It is quite possible that some of the statesmen and experts who have studied the Colorado River problem might give valuable advice as to the best way to deal with the Muscle Shoals problem from the financial point of view. This great asset should be used for the largest benefits. Some years ago a terrible flood devastated the beautiful and highly developed Miami Valley in the State of Ohio. The losses were tremendous, but the affected area was small when compared with the regions inundated by the floods of the present year





THE MERRIMAC RIVER IN RAGING FLOOD AT MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE



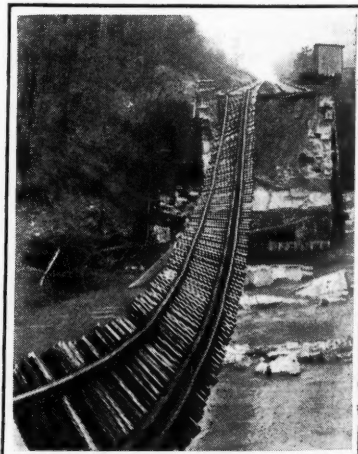
ON THE MAIN HIGHWAY NEAR  
WESTFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS



THE CONNECTICUT RIVER LEAVES ITS BANKS AND  
ENTERS EAST HARTFORD



A VERMONT HOME DURING THE RECENT FLOOD



A WRECKED RAILWAY BRIDGE

in the Mississippi Valley. Ohio could not expect to secure permanent protection of the Miami Valley at the hands of the Federal Government. But the situation was faced, and a local solution was adopted and put into effect. A public authority called the Miami Conservancy Board was created, with power to issue bonds and carry out a series of engineering works that protect alike the towns and great cities and the rich farm lands from disaster in case of floods. As the country grows in available wealth, it becomes increasingly possible thus to afford protection and to conserve resources.

*Vermont's  
Disaster*

In the East, the summer and autumn have brought more rainfall than usual; and so it happened that excessively heavy rains the last half of the first week of November, especially in New England and adjacent regions of northern New York, found the soil already saturated and resulted in the most violent and disastrous flood conditions ever known in those parts of the country. The effects were especially serious in the State of Vermont. All streams were out of their banks, and in certain valleys the torrents engulfed villages that had never been regarded as of precarious location. Bursting dams and reservoirs contributed to the heavy loss of life and property. Many hundreds of miles of railway lines were washed out. Thousands of miles of highway were rendered impassable, and hundreds of bridges were washed away. In this small State of Vermont, the damage to roads and bridges alone will probably have exceeded \$10,000,000. The State is not wealthy, but its people are thrifty, resourceful, and strong in the spirit of self-help. Cold weather and snow immediately following the torrential rains added much to local distress.

*A Noble  
People*

The people of Vermont have for more than a hundred years responded to appeals of all kinds, from the ends of the earth, to the full extent of their ability to contribute. All the main tasks of restoration will now be carried out by the State and its communities at their own expense. But there are many thousands of homeless people for whom there should be immediate aid at the hands of generous people elsewhere. It has been agreed that such aid could best be

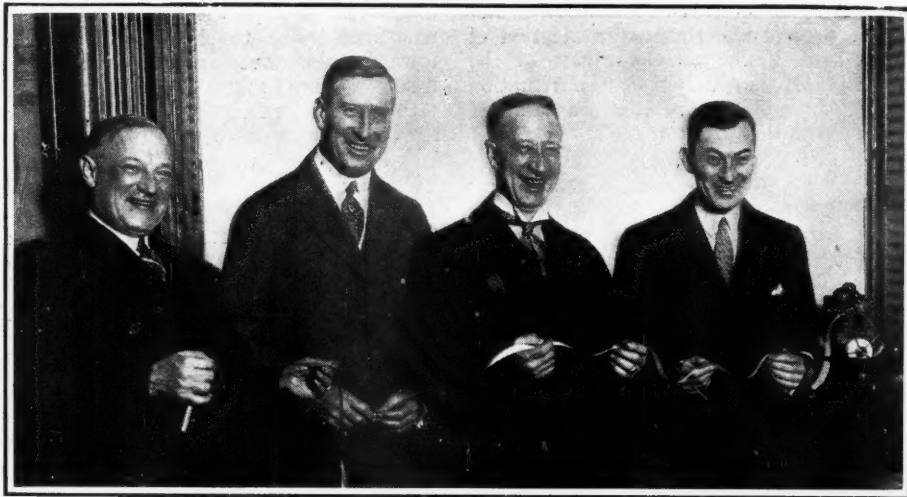
distributed through the Red Cross. Those who would like to show their good-will toward the brave and self-reliant Vermonters may send their contributions through the nearest Red Cross office or agency, with the assurance that every dollar will reach the desired destination. There were losses also to some extent in Maine and New Hampshire, and along the Connecticut River further southward, as well as along the Mohawk and other streams in New York State. But the principal damage was wrought in Vermont.

*Kentucky  
Elects a  
Republican*

In the State of Kentucky, the election of November 8 resulted in the defeat of the Democratic candidate, former Governor J. C. W. Beckham. The Republican Governor-elect is Judge Flem D. Sampson. The local issues were complicated, and it is not wise for an outsider to attempt either a political or a moral interpretation of the result. Kentucky will be a fair fighting ground between the two parties next year. Mr. Beckham had the support of the Anti-Saloon League, and of those elements that are opposed to a form of race-track gambling that is now legalized. Judge Sampson on the other hand did not admit that he stood as the champion of conditions that the reformers and the prohibitionists opposed.

*New York  
and the  
Parties*

In the New York State elections, the Republicans point with satisfaction to an increase of their majority in the Assembly (the lower house of the legislature) by four members. A number of amendments to the State Constitution were adopted. All of them had been submitted by action of a Republican legislature. The most important from the standpoint of the State itself authorizes the so-called "executive budget." Governor Smith claims the success of this amendment as a triumph for himself personally and for the Democratic party. Most of the proposed amendments that prevailed were not in serious controversy. One of them added the sum of \$300,000,000 to the borrowing capacity of New York City in order to be available for the completion of municipal subways and the carrying out of a plan for unified rapid transit. This was a triumph for Mayor Walker, although its wisdom was challenged by Republican leaders.



THE FOUR CHIEF POLITICAL FIGURES IN TAMMANY HALL AS NOW CONDUCTED

At the left is Robert F. Wagner, who takes his seat in the United States Senate on December 5, succeeding an eminent Republican, James W. Wadsworth. Mr. Wagner, after long service in the legislature, was given a judgeship several years ago. Next is George W. Olvaney, who is now head of Tammany as successor to the late Charles F. Murphy and who made a creditable record as a judge of the New York Supreme Court. Next comes the all-conquering favorite of New York politics, Governor Alfred E. Smith. Finally, at the right, is the Mayor of America's greatest metropolis, Hon. James J. Walker. These successful products of New York City are here seen smiling over the returns on the morning following the November elections.

*Defeat of  
the Long-term  
Proposal*

Overwhelmingly defeated was the proposal to increase the term of the Governor and elected State officers (as also that of the members of the State Senate) from two years to four years, with the election occurring in presidential years. Governor Smith took the stump, demanding the defeat of this measure on the ground that it gave the Republicans undue advantage, and that it tended to subordinate State issues to national party politics. The Governor heartily favored the four-year term; and his objection had solely to do with the plan of massing all elections in the presidential year. The Republicans accept the verdict of the people as a defeat for the four-year term itself, and a decision in favor of the present two-year term. In any case there must be an election of Governor, coinciding with that of President, in November of next year. Governor Smith's position would have been more convincing if he had invited the State to adopt the amendment in order to secure the four-year term, with the express understanding that he would ask the voters at a future election to change the date. The four-year term is highly important. The separation of State from national elections

may well be demanded, although there is a respectable argument on the other side. As elections go in New York, where voters are no longer under the sway of party names, it is no longer of serious consequence whether a Governor chosen for four years should be elected in one year or in another. As for the recent election, Governor Smith's personal standing and popularity have come through without diminution, while the Republican party, looking ahead to next year, does not seem to have suffered any loss or damage.

*Politics  
in Europe*

Mr. Simonds, who is spending the autumn and winter at various European centers of political interest, reminds us in our present number that leading European countries are—like the United States—looking forward to general elections next year. This is true of France and Germany, while it is fairly probable, though not certain, that the reaction in England against Mr. Baldwin's great Tory majority may lead to a dissolution of Parliament in 1928 rather than in 1929. M. Poincaré has saved French credit, but is barely tolerated by the dominant political groups. The critical time approaches in the financial arrange-

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ment under which Germany has now for several years been making reparation payments. With the coming year, the amount to be paid makes a bold upward leap. The Reparations Commissioner, Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, has warned Germany in the most direct and emphatic way that certain proposed expenditures expanding the domestic budget might so reduce the surplus available for reparations that a default would be inevitable. Mr. Gilbert's motives are those of friendly solicitude for Germany's best interests, as Berlin's statesmen and financiers are well aware. Germany, in reply, has given assurance that she will meet the foreign obligation, while also justifying her proposal to spend an increased sum upon the home program.

*Mr. Young—  
One of Our  
Supermen* It is worth while to remember that the reparations project, which bears a name reminding us of the chairmanship of Vice-President Dawes, was put into execution by Mr. Owen D. Young, to whom is ascribed the larger share of credit for its inception and its adoption. In the field of American business there is no leader who is more highly esteemed than Mr. Young. Like that of Mr. Morrow, Mr. Young's interest in education and in public affairs has never at any time been crowded aside by active demands of a great business career. We are publishing in this number a character sketch of Mr. Young that is meant to be an accurate portrait, with no motive of flattery or laudation. If this article seems to make a hero of its subject, it is because truth will not permit a conscientious writer to take a tone any less admiring.

*Judge Gary  
and His  
Successors* The important position that the late Judge Gary had held as President of the American Iron and Steel Institute has now been well filled by the choice of Mr. Charles M. Schwab. Judge Gary's place as chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation has been filled by the selection of Mr. James A. Farrell, who had since January, 1911, served as president of that



MR. CHARLES M. SCHWAB

President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and new head of the American Iron and Steel Institute.



MR. JAMES A. FARRELL

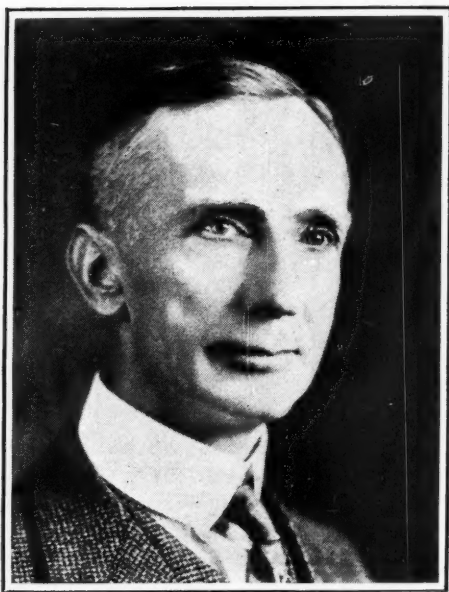
For seventeen years president of the United States Steel Corporation, and now made chairman of its board.

greatest of industrial corporations. Judge Gary's influence was always used for good will as among competitors in the steel industry, for harmony as between capital and labor, and for the most commendable public relations. Even if there has been some recent slackening in the demand for steel products, we have traveled a long way since that period when Mr. Carnegie declared that steel was "either prince or pauper." The steel business adjusts itself skilfully to the needs of the country, does not inflate prices in boom times, and has no longer to fear any sharp and disastrous reactions. Mr. Farrell and Mr. Schwab can hardly fail to go forward along those lines of moderation and justice pursued by Judge Gary, with their own constant coöperation.

*Our Foreign  
Relations*

As we approach the end of the year, we find our government engaged in no serious international controversies. In England there is a bitter debate going on regarding those British policies that broke up the Geneva Conference, which President Coolidge had called in the hope of securing an agreement for further naval reduction. We shall now pursue our own cruiser-building policies at Washington, without the slightest ill-will toward our British friends. It is not for us to be critical, inasmuch as there are plenty of Englishmen who are now declaring that in its endeavor to look far ahead, the Baldwin Government has in





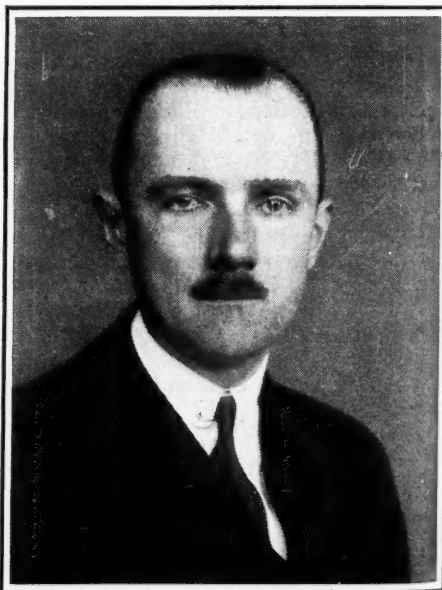
**MR. THOMAS ROSS PRESTON, THE NEW HEAD OF THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION**

Mr. Preston is president of the Hamilton National Bank of Nashville and director in many industrial enterprises. He is a native of Tennessee, fifty-nine years of age.

fact quite over-reached itself. We have adjusted, for the present, all differences with France regarding those tariff details discussed in these pages last month. We are receiving a new Ambassador from Germany, Mr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz-Gaffron, who takes the place of the lamented Baron von Maltzan. General Sherrill contributes to this number an attractive article entitled, "Our Friends the Germans and Japanese." As one of our most widely traveled citizens, with a varied background of official service, General Sherrill is a student of public opinion in many countries. It is a pleasant thing at the end of the year to publish what this observer writes about the rapid recovery of good will toward the United States among the peoples of Germany and Japan.

**Business Men as Leaders** General Sherrill shows how great are the benefits diffused throughout the world in our day by mutually beneficial trade relations. Practical business men are taking a larger place of leadership in shaping American opinion and international policy than are the Senators at Washington who talk about foreign affairs. While so-called statesmen

make speeches that often seem to create prejudice, there is today a constant intercourse among the world's leaders in commerce, finance, and industry; and this does more to give assurance of peace than anything that governments are accomplishing. Leaders in the realm of invention and industry are improving transportation by sea and by air, and above all are binding the world together by a network of cables and of radio connections vastly in extension of facilities existing a dozen years ago. Vast new industries are coming into existence, and they bring to the front a kind of leadership that is more influential in many ways than that which emerges in the sphere of politics. It happens, however, that government has its relation to these activities, because it becomes necessary to fix their place in law and to find proper means of regulating competition. Last month important national and international aspects of the radio industry were under discussion at Washington. The annual meetings of the American Bankers Association, United States Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies of business men concerned with economic progress, have a growing influence from year to year upon the course of affairs.



**FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON PRITTWITZ-GAFFRON**

Germany's new Ambassador to the United States, succeeding Baron Von Maltzan, who was killed in an airplane accident in Germany two months ago.



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# A Record of Current Events

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FROM OCTOBER 15 TO NOVEMBER 14, 1927

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## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 15.—H. A. Bellows resigns from the Federal Radio Commission and is succeeded by Sam Pickard of Kansas, effective November 1.

October 18.—Voters in a Maine referendum on repeal of the direct primary refuse to return to the caucus and convention method by a plurality of 17,087, there being 37,114 votes for the law.

October 25.—Rear Adm. Thomas P. Magruder is relieved from duty at Philadelphia as a result of articles criticizing inefficiency in the navy.

October 31.—The New York Board of Estimate approves the final city budget for 1928 amounting to \$512,528,831.49.

Secretary Andrew W. Mellon submits recommendations for tax reduction limited to \$225,000,000, with relief to small corporations and readjustment of intermediate brackets for surtax rates.

November 1.—The trial of Albert B. Fall and Harry F. Sinclair, at Washington, for criminal conspiracy in negotiating naval oil reserve leases is halted by Judge Siddons because of jury tampering.

November 8.—In New York a popular referendum vote approves all constitutional amendments except a four-year term for Governor; the Republicans gain four seats in the Assembly; a new charter for Westchester County is defeated; John F. O'Brien is elected Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals.

In Kentucky, Flem D. Sampson defeats J. C. W. Beckham for Governor. . . . Former Governor Theo. G. Bilbo is elected Governor of Mississippi.

Harry A. Mackey is elected Mayor of Philadelphia, defeating J. Hampton Moore. . . . At Indianapolis, L. Ert Slack is chosen as Mayor until January 1, 1930. . . . Reading, Pa., goes completely Socialist. . . . Detroit elects a dry, John C. Lodge, by 12,000 majority over Mayor John W. Smith.

November 10.—Three leading farm organizations, conferring at Washington, fail to agree on relief measures.

## NOTES ON FOREIGN POLITICS

October 17.—Kalgan is recaptured from Shansi troops by Northern Chinese under Chang Tso-lin.

October 25.—Rumania is under martial law and censorship by decree of Premier Bratiano, who holds the reins of power; Carol is reported maneuvering to gain his throne.

October 30.—An attempt is made to assassinate the Greek President, Admiral Kondouriotis, at Athens, but his wound is not considered serious. Primo de Rivera outlines to the National Assembly his ideas for a new Spanish Constitution.

November 5.—The revolt in Mexico of Gen. Arnulfo Gomez ends with his execution.

November 6.—Nicaraguan municipal elections held under guard of United States Marines and

Nicaraguan National Guard result in victory for the Liberals by about two to one.

November 12.—Hankow is surrounded by Nanking forces and evacuated by General Tang-Shen-tse, whose troops fire and loot the native city.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 14.—At Prague, Czechoslovakia, Tsena Bey, the new Albanian Minister, is assassinated by an Albanian student.

October 17.—The new Belgian Ambassador, Prince Albert de Ligne, arrives at Washington, D. C.

October 29.—Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo is appointed to represent China on the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

October 31.—The American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai gives a dinner to high Chinese officials.

Soviet Russia accepts the League invitation to participate in the Preparatory Commission for disarmament.

November 1.—Charles E. Hughes is appointed to head a delegation of noted Americans to the Pan-American Conference at Havana, January 16, 1928 (see page 575).

November 2.—Dwight W. Morrow, new American Ambassador to Mexico, spends a day at President Calles' ranch in conference.

November 3.—Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz-Gaffron is confirmed as new German Ambassador to the United States.

November 9.—The Financial Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies votes 120,000,000 francs (about \$4,800,000) to subsidize the Latécoère company for transatlantic air-mail service between France and South America.

November 10.—The International Radio Telegraph Conference at Washington approves a large portion of a new international convention framed in committee.

November 11.—French and Yugoslav delegates sign a treaty of coöperation and mutual defense; this is France's fifth arrangement of that kind, treaties having been completed with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania.

## ECONOMIC NOTES

October 15.—A Franco-German chemical entente is formed to compete with the United States in South America, the Far East, and other markets.

Charles S. Dewey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, becomes financial adviser to Poland.

October 19.—The New York State Department of Labor reports that 7,529,989 working days were lost in 99 employment disputes in one year ended June 30.

October 26.—The American Bankers Association, meeting at Houston, Texas, elects Thomas Ross Preston of Chattanooga, Tenn., as its new president.

October 28.—Charles M. Schwab becomes president of the American Iron and Steel Institute. The public offering of new bonds within October breaks all records with a total of \$748,508,000 at New York.

October 31.—American exports to France decline during September 228,000,000 francs, due to a new high French tariff.

November 2.—The Bureau of Internal Revenue announces that in 1926 the average per capita income of those gainfully employed was \$2,210 compared with \$1,637 in 1921.

November 5.—A note from S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations, to Germany, dated October 20, is published (see page 580).

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 13.—At New York an electrical mechanical man opens a door, and starts an electric fan; three such machines are used by the War Department to control reservoirs at Washington. At Vicksburg, Miss., the Confederate State reunion dedicates a memorial to Jefferson Davis.

October 18.—Col. Arthur Woods announces a gift of \$2,250,000 by an anonymous donor for the excavation work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

October 20.—Prof. Vannevar Bush, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, perfects an electrical thinking machine for solving mathematical problems too complex for the human brain.

October 21.—The play "Abie's Irish Rose" ends its 2327th consecutive performance at New York after breaking all theatrical records.

October 24.—An earthquake occurs under the sea off southeastern Alaska.

October 26.—The Italian liner *Principessa Mafalda* (Genoa to Rio Janeiro) sinks off the Brazilian coast with 1,238 persons aboard; all but 300 are reported saved.

Samuel Schwartzbard is acquitted by a Paris jury of the assassination of ex-President Petlura of Ukrainia, murdered in revenge for pogroms.

October 29.—Gales and floods in Great Britain kill twenty-two persons, with heaviest casualties in the north; fifty Irish fishermen are lost.

October 30.—The Rt. Rev. Gennaro Hayasaka is the first Japanese in history to be made a Roman Catholic Bishop.

November 2.—Ernest Sargent Barnard assumes the presidency of the American League (baseball), succeeding Byron Bancroft Johnson.

Heavy rains cause disastrous floods in New England, the Connecticut, Merrimack and other rivers overflowing; 100 lives are lost, largely in Vermont.

November 5.—Capt. Hawthorne C. Gray sets a record for free balloon height of 44,000 feet; he dies.

November 10.—The Nobel Prize for Physics is divided between Prof. Arthur Compton of Chicago and Prof. Charles T. R. Wilson of Cambridge University.

November 11.—Canadians dedicate at Arlington Cemetery a granite Cross of Sacrifice in memory of American soldiers killed in the World War.

November 12.—The Holland Vehicular Tunnel is opened under the Hudson River between lower Manhattan, New York, and Jersey City, N. J.; 45,000 automobiles pass through in one day.

#### THE ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD

October 13.—Mrs. Caroline Brown Buell, pioneer temperance worker, 83. . . . John Haslup Adams, Baltimore editor, 56.

October 14.—Col. Harmon Liveright Rimmel, Arkansas Republican, 75.

October 15.—Maj. Gen. Sir William Grant MacPherson, British editor, 69.

October 16.—Prof. Frederic Leonard Washburn, Minnesota entomologist, 67.

October 17.—Charles Matthews Manly, engineer and aviation pioneer, 51. . . . Chester Thorne, Tacoma banker, 63.

October 21.—Dr. Charles Herbert Levermore, Bok peace prize winner and noted educator, 71. . . . Herbert Winslow Collingwood, editor of *Rural New Yorker*, 70.

October 22.—Most Rev. Patrick Cardinal O'Donnell, Primate of Ireland, 71.

October 23.—Maj. Gen. Joseph Theodore Dickman, who organized 3rd Army, A. E. F., 70.

October 24.—Solomon Davies Warfield, railroad president, 65 (see page 606).

October 25.—Bishop Edwin Stevens Lines, of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Newark, N. J., 81. . . . Dr. Holmes Condict Jackson, educator, 52.

October 26.—Rev. Dr. Frederick de Sola Mendes, eminent Rabbinical author and editor, 77.

October 27.—Dr. William Gilman Thompson, Cornell physician and lecturer, 70. . . . Dr. Harvey Wickes Felter, Cincinnati eclectic medico, 63.

October 28.—David Williams, trade journal publisher, 85. . . . Canon William Hay Macdowall Hunter Aitken, British preacher, 86.

October 29.—John J. Mitchell, Chicago banker, 74. . . . Rear Adm. James Meredith Helm, U. S. N. retired, 72. . . . Albert Operti (Jasper Ludwig Roccabigliera) artist-explorer, 75. . . . Archbishop Jeremiah J. Harty, of Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Omaha, 73.

October 30.—Maximilian Harden, noted German editor and publicist, 66. . . . Arthur ("Golden Rule") Nash, Cincinnati merchant, 59. . . . Hart Lyman, editor, 75.

October 31.—John Luther Long, playwright, 66.

November 2.—Dr. John Collins Warren, noted Harvard surgeon, 85.

November 5.—"Marceline" Orbes, famous clown, 54. . . . Henry Lowenthal, editor, 74.

November 9.—Senor Don Francisco Sanchez Latour, Guatemalan Minister to Washington, 51. . . . Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, D. D., 70.

November 10.—George Hillard Benjamin, industrial engineer, 74. . . . Charles Schweinler, who founded a vast magazine printing establishment in New York, 73.

November 11.—Dr. Eugene Russell Hendrix of Kansas City, retired senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 80. . . . William Knowles James of St. Joseph, Mo., farmer, 75.

November 12.—Dr. Feliciano Viera, former President of Uruguay. . . . James Nelson Huston, former U. S. Treasurer, 78.

November 13.—Samuel W. Fairchild, chemist, 75. . . . Charles Henry Ludington, Philadelphia publisher, 61.

# Congress • Politics • Business

*The Month's Topics in Cartoons*



THE SPIRIT OF 1927

By Morris, in the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

Republican leaders favor tax reductions amounting to \$225,000,000. The Democrats would go even farther.



ALWAYS A BAD CROSSING BEFORE THE BRIDGE WAS BUILT

By Knott, in the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



CAN THE PRESIDENT RIDE HIM NOW?

(Renunciation has limited his power)

By Westerman, in the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



**LITTLE BOY BUSINESS—HOW CAN HE BE ANYTHING ELSE BUT GOOD?**

By Darling, in the *Herald Tribune* © (New York)



**TOO MANY COOKS AS USUAL AND THE BROTH WILL BE RUINED**

By Sykes, in the *Evening Post* (New York)

WITH the assembling of the Seventieth Congress in its first session on Monday, December 5, the political attention of the country centers once more at Washington. These are the members, it will be remembered, who were elected a year ago last month. Tax reduction, some sort of legislation designed to lend aid and com-

fort to farmers, and federal protection against future floods—comprise the three principal topics which will occupy the nation's law-makers. Fortunately the annual revenues of the Government have for some years exceeded expenditures, so that it will be possible to reduce taxes and at the same time spend liberally where necessary.



**NO COÖPERATION IN THIS FARM MOVEMENT**

Even the leaders do not agree.

By Reynolds, in the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



**THE PRESIDENT WILL GO TO CUBA**

By Thiele, in the *Times-Herald* (Middletown, N. Y.)





STILL UP AND GOING STRONG

By Chapin, in the Public Ledger (Philadelphia)



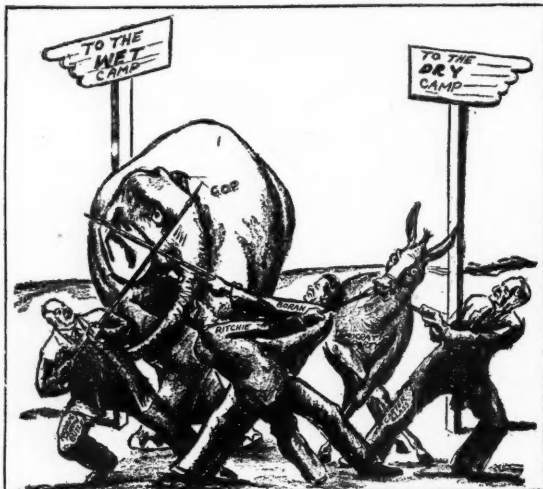
IT WILL TAKE A BIGGER WAVE THAN THAT  
TO UPSET US

By Talburt, in the Telegram (New York)



SOUND AS A DOLLAR!

The President and His Cabinet Report upon Prosperity.  
By Gale, in the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)



THE GREAT CRISS-CROSS!

By Carl Rose, in the *Evening World* © (New York)

CAN BORAH CHANGE IT INTO A CAMEL?

From the *Journal* (Milwaukee, Wis.)

The New York *World* cartoon, above, shows Dr. Butler attempting to lead the Republican elephant to the Wet camp, with Governor Ritchie pulling the Democratic donkey in the same direction. Senator Borah for the Republicans and Carter Glass for the Democrats are working toward

the Dry camp. Senator Borah declares that a spirit of lawlessness exists, the most stupendous problem of our national life. This lawless condition is due, in his opinion, to failure to enforce the Prohibition Amendment. He believes that the highest duty resting upon a political party in a presi-



THIS PEDESTRIAN HAS THE RIGHT OF WAY

By Shoemaker, in the *Times* (Kansas City, Mo.)

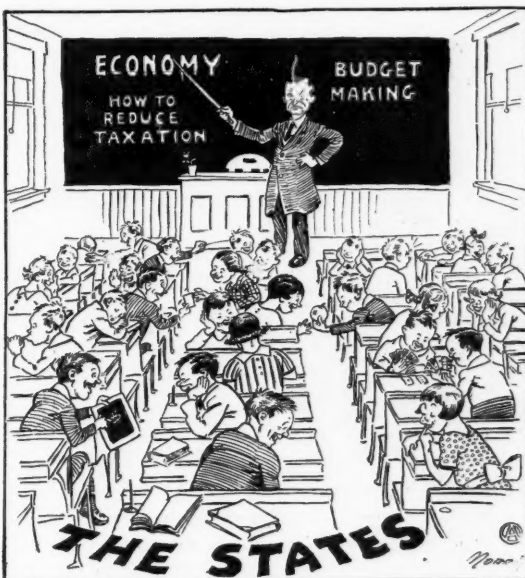
"THE SMITH, A MIGHTY MAN IS HE!"

By Weed, in *Judge* (New York)



SENATOR CURTIS PUTS UP A  
LIGHTNING ROD

By Hanny, in the *Inquirer* © (Philadelphia)



THE SCHOOLMASTER JUST CAN'T SEEM TO GET THEIR  
ATTENTION

By Morris, in the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

dential year is to meet that fact courageously and openly. He strenuously advocates that the platforms and candidates of political parties next year should take positive Wet or Dry positions.

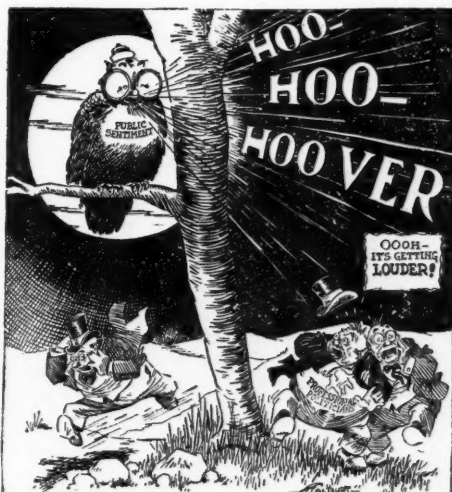
The charge of waste in naval appropriations, made by Admiral Magruder in a

magazine article, brought him into the national limelight, though it resulted in his being relieved from active duty. A number of current cartoons show the Admiral as forced to walk the plank. One more kindly toward the Administration is reproduced below, from the *Chicago Tribune*.



THE ADMINISTRATION'S MOST SACRED IDOL

By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago)



GETTING LOUDER ALL THE TIME

By Talburt, in the *Telegram* (New York)



"OUTSIDE THE CITY, OR I'LL RUN YOU IN!"

By Kirby, in the *World* (New York)

The voters of Chicago last April elected William Hale Thompson as their Mayor. Twice before he had been similarly honored, but there had been an interval during which William E. Dever headed the city's government. Immediately after his election, Mayor Thompson launched a vigorous campaign under the banner of "America



BIG BILL REVERE

By Knott, in the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

First!" Among his definite announcements was an intention to "revise the histories our children are forced to study carrying pro-British propaganda" and to remove the present Superintendent of Education. During October and November his activity along these lines brought him fame extending beyond the borders of the nation.



FEE, FI, FO, FUM!

By Orr, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



THE BATTLE OF BUNKEM HILL

By Ireland, in the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

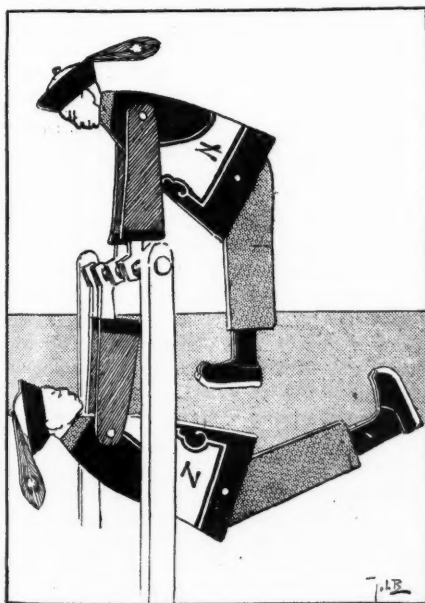




THE CURRENT METHOD OF CURBING WAR

SPIRIT OF THE LEAGUE: "But why do you fasten him with strings and not chains?"  
 WORLD STATESMANSHIP: "I am afraid the rattle of chains might awaken him."

By Low, in the *Evening Standard* (London, England)



A WEATHER-VANE IN CHINA

By Braakensiek, in *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

The North, or Peking government, is now uppermost.  
 The South is represented here by Z for Zuid



INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT

At Geneva all the nations speak the same language, but no two understand it the same way.

By Zislin, in *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

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# A Portrait of Owen Young

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BY HENRY F. PRINGLE

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THE friends of Owen D. Young, whether fellow-officials in the General Electric Company or the Radio Corporation of America, politicians, pedagogues, statesmen or cracker-barrel philosophers back in his home-town grocery store, have one hobby in common: talking about Owen D. Young. They point to his early scholastic brilliance, to his meteoric rise in the law and in business, to his great talent as an organizer, to his genius in drafting the so-called Dawes Plan, to his advanced attitude toward labor, to his keen interest in education, to his good looks, health, and charm.

Three or four of these impassioned admirers held forth, some weeks ago, on this favorite theme at one of the New York clubs. The usual anecdotes were told of Owen Young's ability to establish contact with all sorts of people. His modesty had been emphasized once again. A classmate at St. Lawrence University recalled their college days and told of the degree to which Young had been a truly colossal figure on the campus. For just an instant a shadow fell across the group and they sighed that they, too, had not been similarly endowed by the fairies.

"I admire Young just as much as any of you," said one of the group a little impatiently. "I went to school with him, too. But I won't admit that he is 100 per cent. perfect. Every one has faults."

This was treason, even if understandable, and the other members of the "Owen Young for Anything and Everything Association" demanded that the rebel name a few of their hero's lapses. He was silent for a moment, pondering. Then he gave up.

"I can't think of any right now," he confessed.

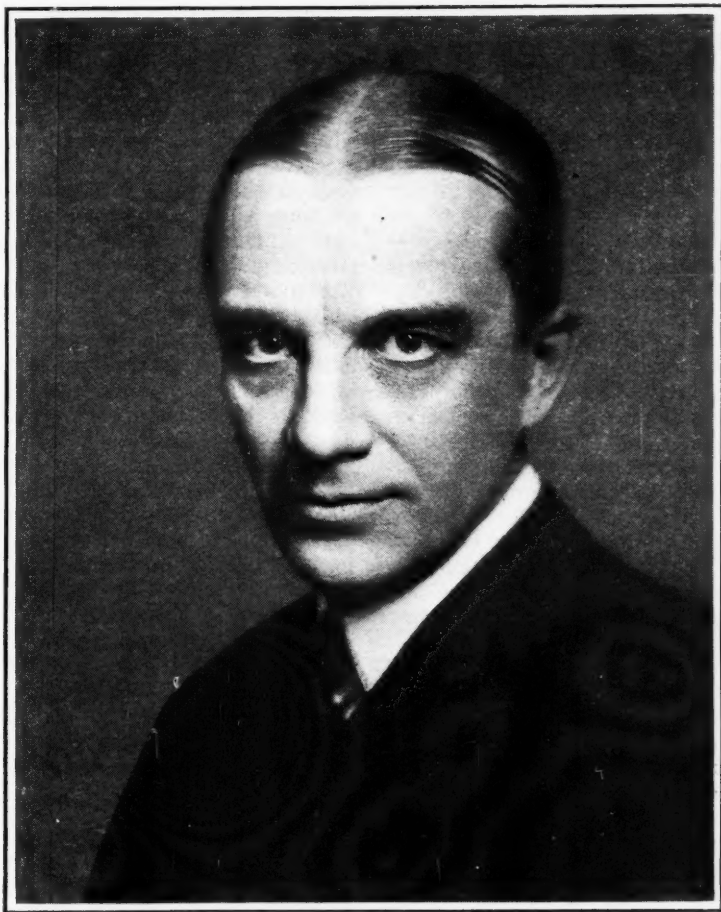
Beyond anything else the most astonishing feature of the story of Owen Young is this wide esteem in which he is held, an esteem limited in no way to his personal friends or business associates. No other industrialist even approaches him in popu-

larity. And yet the General Electric Company, with which he is most prominently identified, exists solely for the purpose of making money. In common with other concerns it obtains the best possible price for its products after manufacturing them as cheaply as it can. It does not admit that monopoly, unless extremely obnoxious, is evil. Under any ordinary circumstances the company would be denounced periodically by ambitious Congressmen and subjected to searching investigation.

## *The Confidence of the Public*

Mr. Young, were his story the usual one, would spend weary hours on the witness stand and would be forced to hire press agents to soften hostile criticisms. How different the situation really is was demonstrated in 1925 when Samuel Untermyer remarked that the General Electric was another public menace, that it was controlled by the House of Morgan. For once accusations by this noted inquisitor fell on deaf ears. The newspapers remarked editorially that Mr. Young was Chairman of the Board and that nothing, therefore, could be radically wrong with the G. E.

He enjoys, in other words, not only the confidence of his friends but of that nebulous entity, the general public, as well. And it is not, I think, difficult to find the reason for this. Those who know him personally are attracted as much, no doubt, by his charm as by his ability. But the respect of the mob is based upon his many public services. It is generally known that he was the moving spirit behind the Dawes Plan for the financial rehabilitation of Europe and later wielded enormous power with such finesse that he was affectionately dubbed "King Owen, the First" by the *Neue Berliner Zeitung*. The public is aware of his belief that international peace can be achieved only through greater understanding among nations and has heard that he gives much time and thought to this



OWEN D. YOUNG

problem. It knows that he is deeply interested in industrial complexities and is gratified that an American has been the first to propound the theory that the workingman is entitled not to a mere living wage, but to a "cultural wage."

"We have 4,000 engineers dealing with materials," Mr. Young said upon becoming chairman of the General Electric. "I'll try to deal with the men."

So successful has he been in this that not even the threat of a strike has arisen.

#### *An Exceptional Range of Interests*

The American business man, provided he is important enough, is a cloistered figure. He surrounds himself with secretaries whose task it is to guard him from interruptions, to see that he knows as little as possible of

what goes on beyond the walls of his monastery, who preserve him for the particular worries of his job. Within recent years a good deal of merriment has been derived at the expense of the Busy Executive. It is slanderously said that when supposed to be "in conference" he is telling funny stories to the Third Vice-President or boasting about his golf scores. But despite the possible element of truth in these aspersions, the fact remains that the average financial or business leader works under forced draft. All too often, certainly, his intellectual outlook is grotesquely limited. By the time he is seized with heart trouble at the age of sixty, and retires, he knows all about making steel or floating bonds and almost nothing else.

This is not said in angry criticism. It is

part of the system made necessary by the arduous duties placed upon the shoulders of those who have risen to greatness. It is only the exceptions, like Owen Young, who manage to preserve their contacts with the outside world, to maintain an interest in problems apart from production and selling costs. The credit due him for this is emphasized by a brief outline of the commercial activities in which he is engaged: Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company and the Radio Corporation of America; Director in International General Electric Company, Buffalo General Electric Company, American and Foreign Power Company, General Motors Corporation, Mohawk Hudson Power Corporation; Class C Director and Deputy Chairman of the Board, Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Chairman of the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce; Honorary Vice-President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Director in National Broadcasting Company; Councillor, National Industrial Conference Board.

#### *Mr. Young at His Office*

Like the other giants of business, Mr. Young is surrounded by aides who count it a day lost when they have failed to turn away the majority of those who wish to see him. As is typical of private secretaries, these highly efficient gentlemen sidetrack as much of his mail as they dare and write, in reply, politely formal notes pointing out how busy their principal is and how "he has had to adopt a general policy of declining" whatever the particular request happens to be. I venture to estimate that Young sees, personally, but a small percentage of the letters addressed to him. He manages occasionally, however, to elude the vigilance of his assistants.

Not long ago, for instance, a visitor called at the General Electric offices in the Equitable Building on lower Broadway, in New York. His business was as important to the company as to himself, but for several hours he was tossed from secretary to secretary without meeting any one authorized to deal with the matter. Finally Mr. Young passed through an ante-room where he was waiting, fairly well discouraged, and asked whether he had been taken care of. Informed of what the visitor wanted, he took the man into his office, listened to his proposals and gave a decision.

"How fortunate," remarked the caller as he emerged, "that I ran into Mr. Young, who has nothing to do."

Creating the idea that he has nothing to do is one of Owen Young's most valuable gifts. He differs vastly from the type of executive who has three telephones on his desk and into whose inner sanctum scurry unending clerks with papers that must be signed immediately, with telegrams and memoranda. A visitor in conference with Young feels that he is at liberty to be at ease. Partly, perhaps, this is due to Young's habit of slouching back in his chair, until poised on the tip of his spine, with his long legs twisted into involved patterns. But it is chiefly due to his manner of speaking, usually described as a drawl but which is, I think, more deliberate than slurred. Humor lingers in his eyes and in a mouth that is gentle. He seems not to take Owen Young too seriously as he leans back and folds his capable farmer-boy's hands across his vest.

Whatever the swiftness of his mind, Young gives the impression of meditating profoundly before arriving at a decision. He thinks aloud and refers again and again to a subject after his colleagues had supposed the topic exhausted. His associates are profoundly impressed when they see him meditating, his eyes half-closed, and they tiptoe past, careful not to interrupt the flow of expensive thinking. But this makes Young chuckle.

"Half the time when I look as if I'm thinking I'm just 'setting,'" he has said. "I can just 'set' better than any one you ever saw."

#### *In Touch with College and Birthplace*

His catholicity of interests is probably based on this talent for "just setting." He goes annually to Canton, N. Y., at commencement time, and stretches himself in the lobby of the hotel near the St. Lawrence campus. To his chair come earnest young professors with ideas to impart to this amiable President of the Board of Trustees, undergraduates with plans for a Bigger and Better St. Lawrence, village merchants with plans for boosting the town, farmers with problems relating to crops. So it is, too, when Young returns, as he does very frequently, to his birthplace, Van Hornesville, N. Y. There he saunters down the main street, stops in at the general store, nods to the local undertaker,



and talks at length with the newspaper editor. With all these varied persons he is at home. He is not forced to bend to a lower level, for the simple reason that it never occurs to him that his position is exalted.

#### *Varied Public Service*

The aura of leisure which surrounds him is due, of course, merely to Owen Young's ability to work efficiently, to conserve his strength, to attend to the problem immediately before him and to achieve a measure of tranquillity despite the countless demands upon his time. I have outlined, already, his activities in the business world and have told of his work with St. Lawrence. In addition he has served on industrial commissions by invitation of Presidents Wilson and Harding, on the 1922 Committee on Unemployment and Business Cycles, on the International Court of Arbitration of Trade Disputes, on the National Distribution Conference, on the First Committee of Experts of the Reparations Commission (which drafted the Dawes Plan). He took part in the London Conference of Premiers. He is President of the Board of Trustees of the proposed Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins, a member of the Finance Committee of the General Education Board, and a member of the Council of the Business Historical Society.

He is a Vice-President of the American Forestry Association, and belongs to the American Bar Association, the American Geographical Society, the Bar Association of the City of Boston, the Bibliophile Society, the Greenwich Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Radio Engineers, the Pilgrims of the United States, the Grolier Club, the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston. He belongs to a half-dozen social clubs.

In speaking at Johns Hopkins in February of 1925 he pleaded for \$1,000,000 for the Walter Hines Page school on the ground that it would add to the sum of accurate knowledge. He said, in part:

*... facts can be applied in any field. Our curse is ignorance. Facts are our scarcest raw material. This is shown by the economy with which we use them. One has to dig deep for them, because they are as difficult to get as they are precious to have.*

*I shall be happy if we can substitute the calm findings of the investigator for the blatant explosions of the politicians.*

*I beg the politicians and statesmen to stop their harmful talk until the facts are found.*

It is the current mode in biographical writing to offer complicated explanations for the success of one's subject. A good deal is said of boyhood yearnings, of inferiority complexes, of the vital importance of the subconscious. But without probing thus deeply into the youthful mind of Owen Young it can be stated, I think, that facts played a very large part in his emergence from life on a New York farm, such facts as cold winter mornings, cows to be milked, chores to be done, crops to be harvested.

#### *Boyhood on the Farm*

"Mondays were rightly blue," he has said, "with the milk coming to the house from the barn; the skimming to be done, the pans and buckets to be washed, the churn waiting attention, the wash-boiler on the stove, the kitchen full of steam, and one pale, tired, discouraged woman in the midst of all this confusion."

Obviously this is a flash-back into his own boyhood on the farm at Van Hornesville. The "pale, discouraged woman" was his mother. The boy hated the life and escaped from it as early as possible. He knew that it was breaking the health of his mother, so his first thought—as soon as he could afford it—was to have her leave the farm and move into town. Mrs. Young still lives at Van Hornesville, a remarkable old lady with natural pride in her son, but she refuses to believe that he is anything more than an unusually excellent boy.

The pattern of his early life is in complete harmony with the American tradition, always remembering that Young makes no claim that he enjoyed those days of hardship. Like other farm boys, he knew that men in business or the professions were not forced to get up at five o'clock in the morning, that they were not dependent upon such fickle things as the wind, the sun and the rain for their prosperity. And so we find him turning his face toward urban life, his mother raising \$1,000 by mortgage so that he could get an education.

#### *From Law to General Electric*

He went to St. Lawrence University, where he worked his way, was the youngest member of his class, received high ratings, and was so esteemed that when but a junior he was chosen by the entire student body to brave the Board of Trustees and plead for a new gymnasium.

He had hoped to attend the Harvard Law School, but selected Boston University because the expenses at that institution were lower. He was graduated in 1896, lectured on common law until 1903, and practised in Boston with Charles H. Tyler. Many of his cases concerned public utilities, and in this way he came into contact with the General Electric. By the time he was forty-eight he had served for years as its general counsel and was made Chairman of the Board of Directors. A few years later he organized the Radio Corporation of America to meet foreign competition in aerial communication.

Young does not sigh, as do many of the business men who have risen in similar fashion, for the days of his youth; nor does he hold forth on the virtues of early rising, hard work and mental and physical discipline. He is frank in his expressions of distaste for them. To-day he goes back very often to Van Hornesville and is greatly interested in the farm which he owns there. He even does some of the chores occasionally. But for the most part he has small use for physical exercise.

"I got in my youth," he explains, "enough exercise to last me a lifetime."

He does not, consequently, play golf, ride horse-back, or spend weary hours in a gymnasium. He does not need to, being as lean as he is tall; as healthy as he is good-looking. One of his few eccentricities is that he detests placing himself in the hands of a doctor on the rare occasions when he is ill. If he has a cold he permits nature to take its course, avoiding possible orders that he must stay away from his office.

#### *Industry and the Workmen*

The friends of Mr. Young, I have said, never weary of dwelling upon his many blessings. Notable among these, in an age of domestic strife, is his peaceful home life. Emphasis is placed upon the degree to which he is fond of his four children, how his daughter is making a reputation for scholarship and good looks at Bryn Mawr, how his wife was a co-ed at St. Lawrence with him, and how her social graces complement his own. It is popularly supposed that Mr. Young counts none but sunny hours, that he thinks none but happy thoughts. In giving this picture, his friends do him an injustice.

Industrial leaders of the type of Charles M. Schwab, who are primarily super-

salesmen, can properly be described as cheerful souls without a care in the world. Young is not this sort. He is an able organizer, but he is no high-powered spell-binder. Nor does he, if I may venture a guess, consider the world too bright a planet. Giving voice to the thought that workmen are entitled to the decencies of life, and adding that a measure of culture is part of them, it is with the knowledge that industry is not yet organized to provide them. Unemployment, he has said, "is the greatest economic blot on our capitalistic system," a quaint notion from a man who is the chairman of the board of a great corporation. But he goes further than this, and I call attention to the difference between his philosophy and the frequent booming statements of certain well-known representatives of American industry. Business, he remarked in a recent address, has been quick to seize the advantages of "group action and slow to assume group responsibilities." Too frequently, he went on, business men have at least condoned "objectionable practices until an outraged society compelled amateurs to interfere." The "amateurs" to which he referred are, of course, the State and Federal legislators who confuse economic forces by unwise laws.

#### *A "Living Wage" Not Enough*

Mr. Young sees, if I read his mind correctly, no swift millennium. Only "slowly" is business learning that "low wages do not necessarily mean high profits for capital." True, the trend in America is away from the notion that wages must be based on the ancient law of supply and demand, even away from the more modern conception of a wage that permits subsistence, the "living wage." Young has seen enough schedules and estimates of living costs to know that the "living wage" means one as low as possible. The present tendency, and in so believing he is optimistic, is toward a wage scale which will insure savings, decent schooling, small automobiles, a degree of pleasure. It is his belief that industry must, in the not too distant future, provide decency for its workers.

The Chairman of the General Electric is a realist in his attitude toward international problems. I make no assertion that he is cynical, although he might be justified in being so. He has seen, in connection with the Dawes Plan, that nations are as greedy as the individuals who comprise them. He

went to Europe in December of 1923, with Washington alarmed that the efforts toward reparations settlement would fail and protesting that Young and his associates were private individuals in no way representing the Administration. He returned in April of 1924, the plan well on the road to adoption, to hear statements on all sides that Washington was greatly pleased and that the Republican party intended to claim credit for what had been done.

#### *International Finance*

Mr. Young's passion for facts permits no illusion on his part that the Dawes Plan has yet met the extreme tests to which it will be subjected. He knows that in September of next year Germany will have to increase her payments by \$180,000,000, part of an appalling total of \$600,000,000 to be met during 1928. He knows that this will be difficult, particularly with the United States skulking behind a tariff wall and declining to buy the goods of Germany. Over a year ago he spoke as follows on international finance:

*Political agencies define the obligations between nations, but they cannot create the means of payment. If political agencies moved all the gold within their power it would have no effect in making the various payments required to settle the international debts. There is not gold enough in the world to make the settlement of those debts. Taxation creates nothing. It only takes what others have created and appropriates it to government needs.*

*... goods and services must be moved over international boundaries to create the balance to pay the debts. Somewhere there must be a meeting place, common to all men of business, where they can discuss the common problems of this economic restoration.*

*It is not in the Dawes Plan written on paper, it is not in the acts of the legislatures of any country, however powerful; it is not in the declaration of kings or potentates or premiers or presidents, but it is in the understanding of men of business that the way must be found to create the funds with which the debts must be paid.*

Economics, in other words, cannot be legislated any more than can morals; less, if anything.

From time to time Mr. Young is urged to devote his talents to public office. A Democrat, he is petitioned to run for Governor of New York, to permit his name to be used in presidential ponderings. These suggestions do not come from professional politicians, who would hesitate in their endorsement of a man so unlikely

to obey their demands. They come, as spontaneously as anything of this sort does, from the people. It is, however, unlikely that Mr. Young will enter politics. Obviously he cannot do so, for politics requires a state of mind completely contradictory to his philosophy of life. Politics requires a disregard of facts, a willingness to compromise with principle, a contempt for economic laws, a resounding optimism, a sacrificing, in many cases, of the greater good for the immediate gain.

"We can afford," Mr. Young once said, "to set the example of being big, generous, and polite. Rights will not be sacrificed by that attitude. They will be preserved. In a great nation, bitterness and selfishness, alone, are the enemies of right."

#### *Not Anxious to Enter Politics*

No politically minded man, as politics is constituted to-day, could make such a declaration of international policy. Owen Young does not, naturally, decline to enter public life by saying that it is because he has no use for its methods. In May of 1926, when it seemed as though Governor Smith was in earnest in declaring that he would not run again, the Chairman of the General Electric was suggested in several newspaper editorials as a Democratic gubernatorial nominee.

"To administer public affairs successfully," said Mr. Young in withdrawing his name, "requires political knowledge and political experience. I have neither. I have never undertaken a job for which my experience did not in some degree qualify me, and I hope I never may."

There is another reason for all this. It is quite clear that Young believes his work with the General Electric and the Radio Corporation more important than anything he might do as an office holder. Electricity makes life on the farm more bearable. It eases the tasks of "pale, discouraged" women by means of milking machines, dishwashers, and a thousand other conveniences. The radio, too, lifts the burden of work and dullness that once caused it to be said that farmers' wives were likely to end their days in hospitals for the insane. Young, there is slight doubt, will continue to devote himself to industry; always willing to put aside his private business and assist in the solution of some particular public problem.



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OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

# Visiting The Holy Land

BY

JOHN H. FINLEY

THERE is no other spot on this entire globe which the people of the Western World should more frequently and gratefully visit in their thought than the little land which for centuries has been called "The Holy Land." And there is no other land to which a pilgrimage of one's person is more rewarding, if one goes with an appreciation of its gifts to the human race.

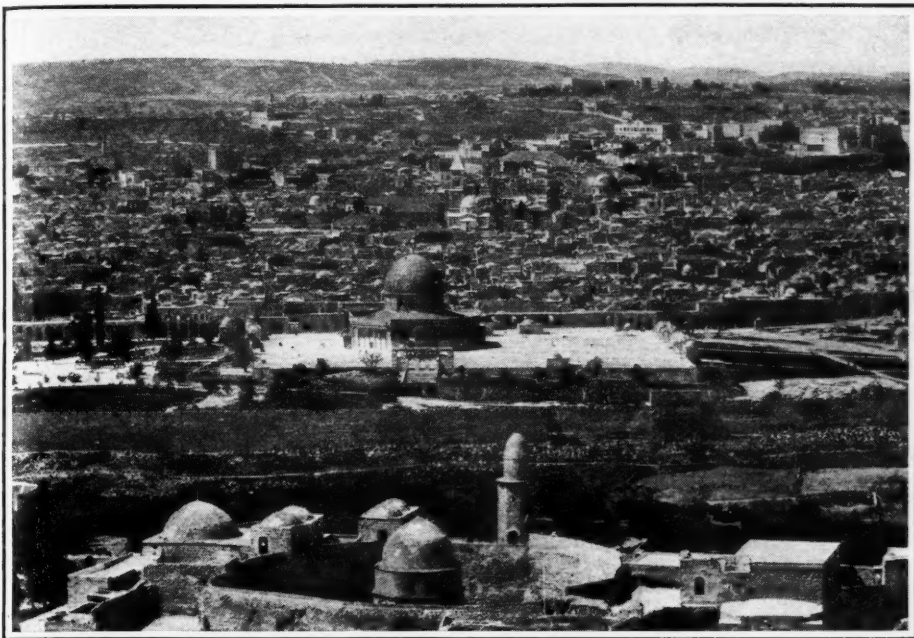
It is much nearer now to the rest of the world by reason of improved means of travel than it was in the time of the Crusades. The "Via Dei" (the name by which they called any and every road that led to Palestine in those days, when whole villages came en masse bringing their children, cattle and household utensils in order to set out for Jerusalem) was a long one whether the crusader or pilgrim went by land or water, on foot, on horseback, or by ship. The Holy Land is now reached from Egypt over night by a train whose predecessor in the days of the World War was called by the Tommies the "Milk and Honey Express." But the engineer no longer stops the train at sunrise and descends to say his prayers kneeling on a prayer carpet in the sands of the desert beside his engine. Train schedules have been improved and luxurious European wagon-lits substituted for the primitive cars with wooden slabs for beds, such as were used for "sleeping cars" in the war. But one cannot repress

the wish that there might still be a pause for prayer on the part of Moslem, Jew, and Christian alike on approach to that land which is sacred to all.

I would suggest that one should know one's Bible before going if one is to find in that land its transcendent beauty and majesty not visible to the ordinary observer as noted in the guide books. Dr. Fosdick told me in Palestine of a lady tourist who said that if she had known that the Bible told about Palestine she would have bought a copy. During the war I saw for the first time its bare hills and its arid valleys whose vegetation was covered with the dust of armies. I passed by day through its squalid and huddled villages and over its lonely roads by night. I drank of its broken fountains and knelt at its shrines hung about with pathetic mementoes; I saw the procession of sad-faced women burden-bearers and multitudes of joyless children—the cumulative misery of centuries of oppression and the ugliness of religious jealousies—but I have gone back to it with an even deeper "passion of pilgrimage."

This little land (about the size of the State of New Hampshire) is so small that one may travel the distance in a motorcar at only thirty miles an hour from Dan to Beersheba in five or six hours—that is, if one does not pause on the way. But of

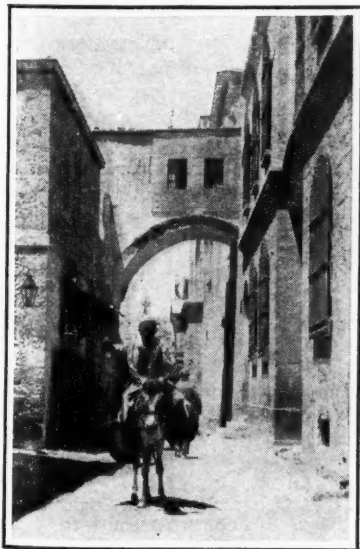




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**JERUSALEM AS SEEN FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES**

The largest city of Palestine stands on a plateau 2,500 feet above sea-level. It was the scene of most of the important events described in the Bible. The wall that may be noticed extending across the foreground of this picture, forty feet high and two and a half miles in extent, encloses the old city and was rebuilt in the sixteenth century. The newer sections of the city, outside the wall, are now larger than the old. In the immediate foreground of this picture is the Chapel of the Ascension, in which one sees the footprints which are supposed to be those of Christ. In the middle distance rises the Mosque of Omar, or the Dome of the Rock, on the site where once stood Solomon's Temple.

**THE VIA DOLOROSA**

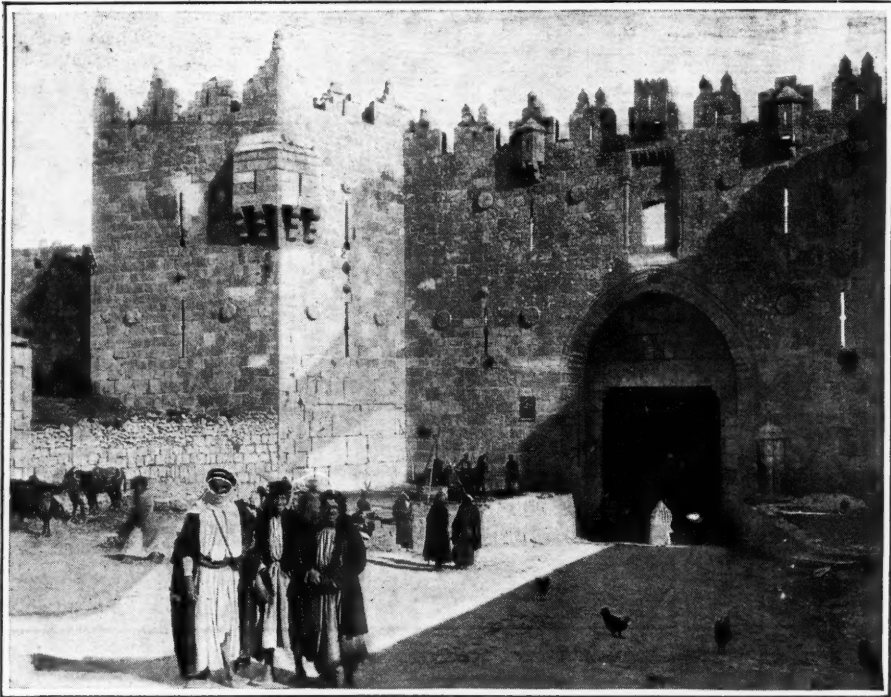
This narrow street, follows the course of the Road of Suffering, where Christ was led carrying the Cross.



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**WATER CARRIERS ON THE TEMPLE HILL**

These goat skins are being filled at the well near the Mosque of Omar. The walls which enclose this Temple Hill form part of the eastern wall of Jerusalem and face the Mount of Olives.



A SCENE AT THE DAMASCUS GATE

This towered gateway is one of the most important of the eight which pierce the walls of Jerusalem. Within the walled city Damascus Street, running north and south, crosses David Street, running east and west, thus dividing the city into four quarters: the Christian, the Moslem, the Jewish, and the Armenian.

course no one with any love for that land will rush through its ancient paths (though converted into excellent motor roads) in this fashion. One must pause almost every mile of the way to recall some association of the long past. And the roads themselves are so filled with the memories of the men who walked in them or rode on their slow-going animals over them in those days when the dramatic preface of the Christian era was being unconsciously written, that one must drive slowly, for, a visitor with any imagination must be in constant fear lest his car run down a prophet or a patriarch, or even pass unawares the figure of One who went among the villages of Galilee teaching.

Then the traveler must stop at many places along the way, from where Mount Hermon's snowy peak looks down on Dan to where the sun blazes on the desert back of Beersheba, to see the cherished memorials of that ancient time, though the out-of-doors with its contour of mountain and its "rolling" Jordan, its flowers of the field and its wilderness that heard the voice

crying, has more thrilling and satisfying stories to tell than any and all of the monuments of men's hands, or the chapels, chambers and grottoes that are lighted for indoor remembrance. Yet one cannot pass by these places that have become sanctuaries through centuries of Christian praying or Jewish wailing and waiting, or Moslem fearing to walk shod on holy ground; the spring at Nazareth, Jacob's well at Sychar, the Dome of the Rock, the tomb of Rachel, the Holy Sepulcher, the "stable" at Bethlehem, and so on down to the well that remembers, across the centuries, the vows of Abimelech and Abraham at Beersheba.

On a hill a little way out of Jerusalem, the pilgrims of earlier days used to turn for the last sight of the Holy City repeating the words of the Psalmist:

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

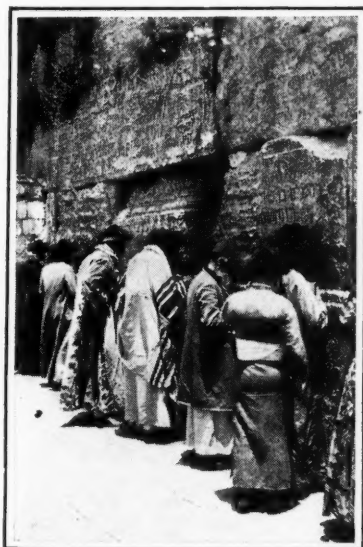
This is a vow which Christendom should not cease to repeat. This little land, with its capital whose name signifies "the city of



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**DAVID STREET, JUST INSIDE THE JAFFA GATE**

Part of the walls have been torn down by the Jaffa Gate to make an easier entrance to this, one of Jerusalem's more important streets. Near this gate, in the wall, is the Tower of David, an excellent specimen of the ancient towers which formed part of the city's defense against its enemies.

**THE FAMOUS WAILING-PLACE**

Here Friday afternoons and after morning service on Sabbaths and holy days the Jews of Jerusalem assemble in a picturesque crowd to bewail their departed glory.



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**THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER**

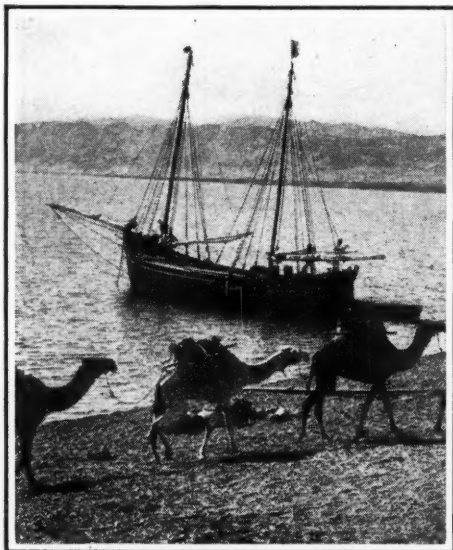
The present church, on the site of the tomb of Christ, is a restoration, in the early nineteenth century, of a church built in the twelfth century by the Crusaders. The first church was consecrated on this spot by Constantine in the year 336.



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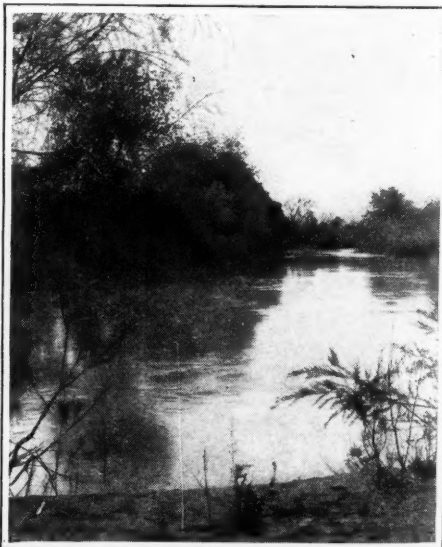
#### THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE

The site of the betrayal of Christ is thought to be in the present garden, although there are indications that it may have been farther north. The numerous stones mark the graves in a Jewish cemetery.



#### THE DEAD SEA

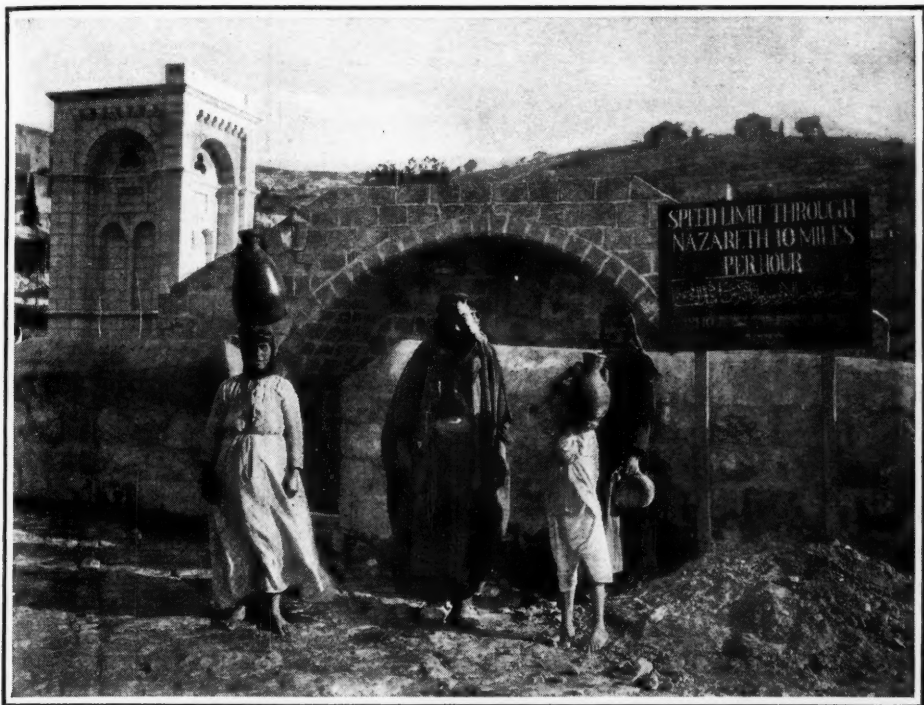
This body of water lies 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, being the most depressed accessible portion of the world's surface.



#### THE RIVER JORDAN

The river where Christ was baptized flows south, through the sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, after a winding course of about 200 miles.





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**MARY'S WELL AT NAZARETH**

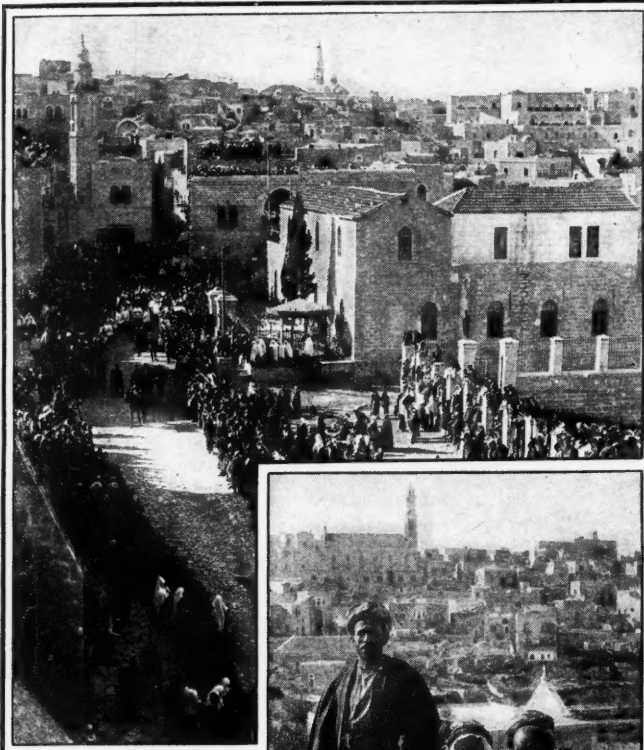
This well, at the little town where Mary was born, has been for three thousand years the source of the best water in Palestine. Nearby stands the Church of the Annunciation on the spot where once was Mary's house, according to tradition. Although Jesus was born in Bethlehem, his boyhood was spent here, about seventy-five miles north of Jerusalem and not far from the Sea of Galilee. The speed-limit sign in English shows that present-day Nazareth does not lack visitors.



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**FISHERMEN ON THE SEA OF GALILEE**

It was around the northern part of this sea, or rather lake, which is about thirteen miles long, that Jesus passed the greater portion of his public ministry. Four of the first Disciples were Galilean fishermen. Many of the miracles are closely associated with this lake. Of the thriving towns which once lined its banks, Tiberias alone remains.



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peace," should be maintained as "a spiritual reservation" into which not Jews alone, nor Christians alone, nor Moslems alone should "bring their glory," but all the nations that have been blest by the spiritual influences which have gone forth throughout all the earth from its hills and valleys. It should be a "house of pilgrimage" for the whole earth and should be kept as becomes the guests it has entertained since the days when angels ascended and descended by a golden ladder at Bethel.



THE OLD AND NEW MEET AT BETHLEHEM

Although the automobile has now become a familiar sight throughout Palestine, it is still far from replacing the camel as the popular beast of burden.

#### CHRISTMAS AT THE LITTLE TOWN OF BETHLEHEM

The Church of the Nativity, on the spot where Christ was born, is one of the interesting buildings in Palestine. Much of it dates back to Constantine. This picture shows the crowds gathered to watch a Christmas Eve procession. Here once a year a gathering from the ends of the earth watch the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem wash the feet of his fellow prelates.

#### THREE WISE MEN

A glimpse of the houses still in use in Bethlehem explains many things regarding Christ's nativity. The typical house is of one room with a raised central platform where the family live and sleep. Beneath it the domestic animals are brought at night. When there were too many visitors at the house in Bethlehem used as an inn, the platform would not hold them and they remained below. This explains the birth of Jesus in a manger.



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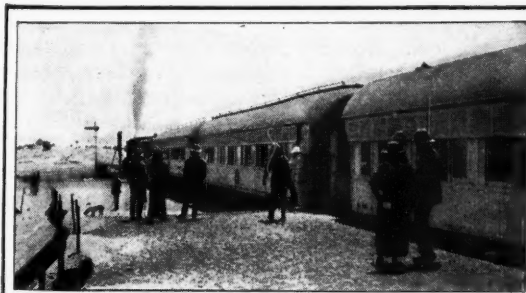
#### THE ROAD TO JERICO

This good automobile road from Jericho to Jerusalem had been traversed by many figures in Bible history: David, returning to Jerusalem to be king again after Absalom's rebellion; Herod the Great, who spent his winters in his palaces at Jericho; and Jesus, who came up this path to Jerusalem to be crucified.



#### ONE WEEK OLD

The wandering Bedouins still drive their camels along the road from Jericho. This baby camel so allured a young American traveler that she simply had to photograph it. In spite of determined efforts on the part of the Bedouins to keep this desire from fulfillment, except in exchange for much "baksheesh," a daring snap of her kodak and a dash back to the car accomplished the result shown.



© E. M. Newman

#### RAILROAD TRAINS AND OCEAN LINERS HELP THE MODERN PILGRIM

The railroad station above is in the Sinai desert. Trains now run from Jaffa to Jerusalem and from Haifa to Damascus. The port of Haifa, on the Mediterranean Sea, where most tourists leave their steamers, is shown on the right. It is a town of considerable importance, shipping a great deal of agricultural produce brought by rail from the valley of the Jordan.



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# A Railroad Statesman

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BY RICHARD HATHAWAY EDMONDS

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**S.** DAVIES WARFIELD, the creator of the Seaboard Air Line as it now exists, a tremendous factor in the development of the South, and especially of that portion tributary to his line, from Virginia to what might be called almost the end of Florida, was one of the really great outstanding business creative geniuses of this age.

The more his lifework is studied from the time when he was running a small machine and bicycle repairing shop more than forty years ago, through his whole career of postmastership at Baltimore, as the intimate friend of Grover Cleveland, to the receivership, then to the presidency, and then to the practical controlling ownership of the Seaboard Air Line, the more one sees a romance scarcely surpassed by any American business builder in all our history. Mention should also be made of the fact that he organized the Continental Trust Company, one of the great financial institutions of Baltimore, and up to the time of his death was its president.

Following the end of the World War, Mr. Warfield saw that the railroads were in desperate straits, and believed that unless Congressional help were given many of them would be forced into bankruptcy in a way which would bring on a panic of such magnitude as to shock the nation. Largely through his initiative and his work, the Transportation Act was passed which gave a degree of protection to the railroads and saved the country from that panic.

He originated and put through the organization of the Association of Railway Security Owners. As its president he came into the closest contact with the financial leaders of the country. That organization represented, through insurance companies, savings-banks, and other investors, \$10,000,000,000 of railroad securities. A few years ago Mr. Darwin P. Kingsley, president of the New York Life Insurance Company, in a public address gave credit to Mr. Warfield for having prevented a nation-

wide panic, and held him up as one of the foremost empire-builders of America.

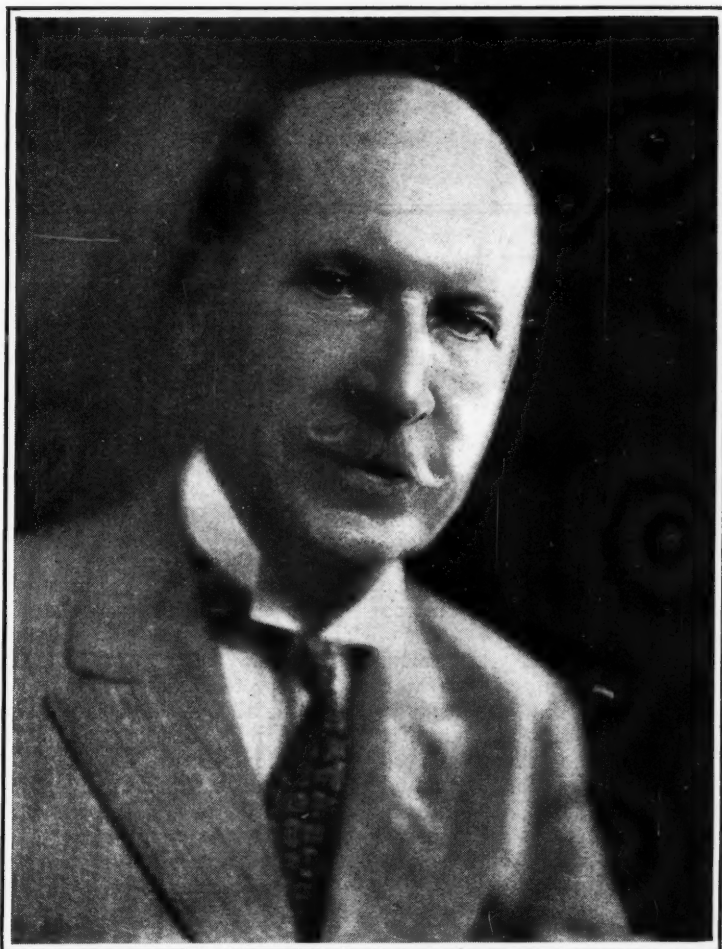
Mr. Warfield visualized as few others have done the inherent resources of the South. He was a product of the South, a Marylander by birth, and into the development of the South he threw the utmost power of his creative genius. Having made a considerable fortune, he invested the bulk of it in Seaboard Air Line securities with an abiding faith that the development of the territory through which it runs would give it an opportunity for becoming one of the prosperous railroads of the country.

He had a larger vision as to the rights of the public, and the wisdom and ways of cultivating public sentiment, than any other railroad man with whom I have come in personal contact. Sometimes he expressed to me his regret that the railroad men of America did not quite understand the psychology of winning public favor and of recognizing the rights of the public. This was shown strikingly in his successful effort to bring about a peaceful settlement with railroad employees at a time when a widespread strike was endangering the prosperity of the workers, the public, and the railroads alike.

Against the strong antagonism of some of the big railroad men of America he finally won his point; and conciliation brought peace and harmony where continued hostility between managers and employees would have been disastrous to all interests. He told me that he fully recognized the rights of the railroad employees and that in the fight they were then making he justified their demands and sought through conciliation to save the situation for the good of all interests.

Two years ago I begged him to lessen his tremendous activities, living as he was doing almost constantly on the cars, rushing back and forth between New York and Florida and other parts of the South, creative in his work, broad-visioned in his view of the future of the South, and with a





THE LATE S. DAVIES WARFIELD

soul afire in carrying forward his great undertakings. But in reply he wrote me that he did not believe that work ever killed any one and that physically he was feeling fully equal to what he was doing.

A fitting climax to the life of the hardest-working man that in all my experience I have ever known was Mr. Warfield's will, written five weeks before his death, in which practically his entire estate, estimated at from three to five million dollars (he had never married and his few relatives were comfortably fixed financially), was given for the establishment of a home for aged women, in memory of his mother. As stated in his will: "My mother represented to me all I really had in life, which I did

not entirely realize until her death. It was always my desire to be financially able to give my mother every comfort in life, which was the mainspring of my efforts. . . . To be with my mother was to recognize a supreme influence; indescribable. It is to my mother, therefore—to her memory—I wish to establish this memorial—the Anna Emory Warfield Home for Aged Women."

That Mr. Warfield's work will carry on is assured by the terms of the will, placing his stocks in the Seaboard Air Line and in the Continental Trust Company in the control of two committees of five each, with instructions that they should under no circumstances be sold unless absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the Home.

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# No More Diphtheria!

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BY FREDERIC DAMRAU, M.D.

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**T**O WIPE out diphtheria by the end of 1930 is the ambitious project that several groups of earnest workers have taken upon their shoulders. And now, since the means of preventing and treating this disease are well understood, it is probable that they will come pretty close to success.

Although it is thirty-seven years since the specific cure or antitoxin was discovered, diphtheria is still entirely too prevalent. In 1924 there were 9,687 cases in New York City alone, with 714 deaths. These figures represent an annual sacrifice of twelve persons, mostly tiny children, per 100,000 of the population.

That diphtheria antitoxin, given early, will promptly cure the disease, is well established. The history of the epidemic in Nome is still vivid in our memories. In that little snowbound Alaskan village of seven hundred white folk and three hundred Eskimos, including two hundred children, a number of cases of "sore throat" began to appear during the winter of 1924 and 1925.

To his horror Dr. Curtis Welch, the only physician within very many miles, recognized the unmistakable symptoms of diphtheria. I say to his horror, because the only antitoxin that Dr. Welch could obtain was stamped with the expiration date of January 1, 1920. To use this old antitoxin was like trying to take good snapshots on a kodak film that should have been developed five years before.

Dr. Welch hurried an appeal for fresh antitoxin. Immediately an abundant supply was rushed as far as possible by airplane. Then the heroic Alaskan dogs, Balto and his team-

mates, completed their memorable journey and carried the life-saving antitoxin over snowclad fields to the stricken city of Nome. With the arrival of this fresh antitoxin the epidemic was promptly controlled.

What most persons do not understand is that diphtheria antitoxin does not prevent diphtheria. It only cures it after it has attacked the patient. True, a child whose little brother develops diphtheria may be protected for two or three weeks by an injection of antitoxin; but, after that, he will be just as likely to catch diphtheria as if he had never received the antitoxin. Whatever protection it confers lasts only a very short while.

It is only recently that we have learned how to protect children permanently against diphtheria. All that is necessary are three simple injections of a new preparation called toxin-antitoxin. This is simply a mixture of diphtheria toxin and diphtheria antitoxin in such strength that one almost neutralizes the other.

By the toxin is meant the poison formed by the diphtheria germ. This microbe lodges in the throat and there elaborates its toxin, which is absorbed into the system



**THE DOGS THAT SAVED TWO HUNDRED CHILDREN**

Balto and his team-mates, who rushed diphtheria antitoxin over Alaskan snows into the stricken city of Nome three years ago. Their timely arrival stamped out a serious epidemic.



#### WHERE TOXIN-ANTITOXIN COMES FROM

A scene in the Pasteur Institute, in Paris. The immunizing serum is developed in the blood of horses, one of which is here contributing his share toward the wiping out of diphtheria.

and carried by the blood-stream to all parts of the body. It is the poison of the diphtheria germ, called *diphtheria toxin*, that produces the disease.

Bacteriologists grow the diphtheria germ in their laboratories by placing the microbes on artificial culture media, kept in an incubator at the temperature of the human body. By means of specially constructed filters they are able to separate the poison from the microbes themselves.

The next step is to standardize the toxin. If a doctor wishes to prescribe one-sixtieth of a grain of strychnine, for example, he can place implicit reliance on the tablets in the pharmacist's shop; for an accurate scale has measured out the exact amount. But, in the case of toxins, we can not rely on weights and measures, for there may be as much difference in the "kick" of two cultures of the diphtheria microbe as in the punches of two men.

The "kick" of the diphtheria toxin from a given culture is measured by its effect on a guinea pig. The unit of measurement is called the *minimal lethal dose*; that is, the smallest amount needed to kill the pig. Therefore the bacteriologist who works with microbes and their poisons, and also the

antitoxins that counteract them, is just as accurate as the chemist who measures out exact amounts on a perfectly balanced scale.

Whenever a microbic toxin enters the body, Nature attempts to overcome it by forming a mysterious substance known as *antitoxin*. The essential fact about antitoxin is that it neutralizes toxin.

What the exact nature and chemical constitution of the antitoxin are, we do not understand. But we do know that, if we repeatedly inject diphtheria toxin into a horse, his blood will contain enormous quantities of the protective antitoxin.

Can we prove this? Yes, very simply. If we inject a small quantity of toxin into a guinea pig, it will die promptly; but if we previously mix a little of the serum from the immunized horse with the same quantity of the same toxin, the little guinea pig will continue to munch his carrots and lettuce as if nothing had happened.

In the realm of chemistry we often observe a somewhat similar neutralization of violent poisons. For example, by mixing suitable quantities of caustic soda and hydrochloric acid, both highly poisonous, we transform the mixture as if by magic into ordinary table salt dissolved in water.

The blood of a single horse, immunized by repeated injections of diphtheria toxin,



#### THE DANGER SIGN

The red spot on the arm of this girl indicates a positive Schick test. This means that the subject is not immune to diphtheria, and should therefore receive treatment by toxin-antitoxin injection.



Photographs from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

#### SAFEGUARDING THE SCHOOLCHILDREN

Municipal authorities are now making efforts to wipe out diphtheria. In some cities all children are examined, and if necessary immunized. It is by such measures, the author believes, that this disease can in time be stamped out.

contains enough antitoxin to cure very many children of the disease. But this antitoxin, as has already been pointed out, will not protect a child for more than two or three weeks. For that the immunizing action of the toxin itself is required.

But diphtheria toxin alone is far too poisonous to be injected safely into a human being; therefore, it must be used together with the protective antitoxin. That is why the toxin-antitoxin mixture was devised.

The toxin-antitoxin now used to immunize children against diphtheria consists of a small dose of diphtheria toxin, almost, but not quite, neutralized by a suitable quantity of antitoxin. The result of injecting this mixture is that the human body forms enormous quantities of antitoxin, just like the horse. It is this manufacture of antitoxin within the body that protects the child permanently against diphtheria.

Since antitoxin deteriorates far more slowly than toxin, this mixture is safe even after it has grown old. Harmful effects never occur after injection. And the treatment furnishes a most effective means of protecting a child for the rest of his life from the ever-present menace of diphtheria.

The best time to abolish the danger of diphtheria is about the age when the baby is

teething. From six months to three years is the period when the child is most susceptible to the disease, and also when most of the deaths occur.

Parents need fear nothing. More than 400,000 children in New York City alone have already received the treatment, and not one has suffered serious effects. And the records of the Health Department show a remarkable drop in the number of cases of diphtheria since this treatment was begun.

If the child has already started to go to school without receiving the toxin-antitoxin injections, it is advisable first to perform the Schick test. This consists of injecting into the skin a minute quantity of diphtheria toxin. If, after about forty-eight hours, a red spot appears at the point where the needle entered the skin, the test is said to be positive. A positive Schick test means that the child is susceptible to diphtheria, if exposed, and that he must take the treatment with the toxin-antitoxin mixture. If the red spot does not appear by the third day, the Schick test is negative. The child is not susceptible to diphtheria.

Toxin-antitoxin now invites the public to save many thousands of babies every year. Indeed if we will use the means at hand, there need be no more diphtheria.



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# Europe at the Year-End

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BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

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## *I. On the Eve of Elections*

AT THE present hour there are two very distinct phases to the European situation. In foreign affairs there are contradictions, reactions, local disturbances, and a certain general *malaise* which combine to give the impression of a year far less satisfactory and reassuring than was 1926. Against the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations and the sensational if inconclusive gesture of Thoisy, one has in 1927 little to record save disappointments, of which the two disarmament conferences at Geneva—that of the League and that of the three naval powers—were not the least unfortunate.

This international condition must fairly be described as marking a halt in the general progress of reconciliation and readjustment, witnessed alike by new Balkan disturbances, by a recurrence of Polish-Lithuanian disputes, by a continuation of the Polish-German tariff war, by the unmistakable interruption of Franco-German appeasement. But underneath this condition are circumstances which primarily concern the domestic political situations in many of the great countries.

It is these domestic situations which I shall discuss in the present article, leaving until next month, which will mark the opening of a new year, of the year which will close the first decade since the termination of the war, a review of the international relations in Europe and the promise and the warning which existing relations between certain countries must have. Such a division is not inappropriate, because, after all, at this moment domestic politics not only outweighs foreign, in the minds of the various publics, but tends to shape the direction of foreign policies.

Actually, for Britain, for France, and for Germany, 1928 assumes much the same character as it does for the United States. Certainly in France and Germany; also, in all human probability, in Britain, a new

general election will take place. The parliaments of these three nations will be renewed and the character of the national legislatures will be determined for four or five years to come. Thus, in all three countries, as in the United States, the maneuvers which precede elections have begun.

There is, too, the tendency, familiar in Washington, as in Paris and Berlin, to avoid any considerable or striking new undertaking. All attention is directed toward the electorate. Ministers and party leaders are devoting their efforts to pre-campaign speeches. Nowhere is there any effort to propose new programs carrying with them obvious risks. All energy is concentrated upon explaining in the most favorable fashion the achievements of the past, and setting forth the promises for a future after election.

Thus one has a period of paralysis. Things are going to remain just as they are in the larger sense, and particularly in international relations, until the people have spoken again. All of which is very familiar to Americans, who know what to expect of a Congress whose adjournment in the spring or early summer will be for the express purpose of clearing the way for the national conventions which name presidential candidates.

Before passing to the examination of the situation in the three great countries, whose later policies will determine the course of European events for the next few years, there are two general considerations which claim attention. One must note first, in passing, the situation which was created by the preceding elections and, secondly, the consequences for Europe as a whole which the forthcoming elections will have.

Of the three parliaments now in existence, all were chosen in 1924. But in each country the circumstances of election were different. Thus the present French Parlia-

ment represents the expression of the reaction of France against the policies of Poincaré, which were disclosed in the occupation of the Ruhr. It is true that Poincaré was overthrown directly because of his sweeping tax impositions, but these were in turn the consequence of his failure to collect reparations with bayonets.

The fall of Poincaré was accompanied by the accession to power of a combination of various radical groups with the Socialists, the famous or notorious *Cartel des Gauches*. This victory of the French radicals had been preceded by the far more spectacular overthrow of the Conservatives in Britain by Labor and Liberal parties, which for the moment combined to make Ramsay MacDonald the first Labor Premier of Britain.

Working together, MacDonald and Herriot, who was the first premier of the *Cartel*, opened a campaign which was to lead to the partial reconciliation of France and Germany, and to the complete if temporary appeasement of passions which had reached fever heat in the years from the making of the Paris treaties to the occupation of the Ruhr.

Neither MacDonald nor Herriot was permitted to complete his work. The former fell after the making of the Dawes Plan and the formulation of the Protocol at Geneva. The latter was succeeded by Painlevé and later by Briand, who were supported by the *Cartel*. But while Briand made Locarno, it was a Poincaré ministry which actually saw the entrance of Germany into the League, and Briand at the moment of Thoiry was only foreign minister in a Poincaré cabinet.

The impulse which Labor and the *Cartel* had given in the direction of European appeasement continued to operate after Baldwin and Poincaré had come to power. Neither ventured to interrupt the course of events, and Chamberlain and Briand made Locarno as Herriot and MacDonald had framed the Dawes Plan. The reaction which unmistakably has arrived came from another cause.

In Germany there were, in fact, two elections in 1924. The first was dominated by German resentment at the occupation of the Ruhr. It marked a triumph for reaction and for the old order. It barely missed wrenching control out of the hands of the democratic and bourgeois parties and vesting it again in the hands of the mon-

archists. It also gave new strength to the communists, who looked to Moscow for inspiration and were equally opposed to the existing republic and the vanished monarchy.

Nevertheless, control did remain nominally in the hands of the republican *bloc* and, what is more interesting, nationalist votes were found for the adoption of the Dawes Plan. In the second election, that of the autumn of 1924, the tide turned and defeats were registered for both the communists and the extreme nationalists. As a consequence the Luther-Stresemann cabinet continued in office and made Locarno. By common consent, too, it was permitted to continue in power until Germany had entered the League.

Following this termination of the campaign of appeasement which had begun at the London Conference of 1924, where the Dawes Plan was framed, there was a far-reaching change in German domestic political control. The Democrats and Social Democrats left the cabinet, and, in the new combination, the Nationalists took office, received many important places, and became the strongest single element in a cabinet based upon the Catholic Center, the industrial People's Party, and the monarchist National Party.

This return of the Nationalists was accompanied by incidents which were not only unpleasant for the British but profoundly disturbing for the French. Once more National orators repeated the words familiar before 1914. If the French people had come to believe that there was not one but two Germanys, an old and a new, and that the new was not only pacific but dominant, events now seemed to give this faith the lie. And these events culminated in the still recent demonstration at Tannenberg and the devastating speech of Hindenburg himself.

As a result French opinion hardened rapidly. The opponents of Locarno, the critics of Briand became vocal. All the old apprehensions were revived. There was disseminated in France the conviction—or at least the fear—that Germany remained at bottom unchanged, that Locarno was no more than a trick, and that behind a cover of dissimulated pacifism Germany was preparing a new war.

On the whole this view has gained ground. It has paralyzed any real progress toward reconciliation. It has prevented any further

steps toward hastening the evacuation of the occupied Rhineland. It has disappointed all the brightest hopes of 1926. And it remains at the present hour the gravest circumstance in the European situation.

Thus, one must see clearly that the character which the coming elections have, the direction which the results take, will

be of supreme importance for the next years. And since the French and German elections will take place almost simultaneously, there will be an expression of opinion in each country practically uninfluenced by the decision in the other. But, in sum, these two elections will be almost as important as those of 1924.

## II. The French Situation

When one turns to the French situation it can hardly be said with exactitude that foreign affairs are the dominating consideration. On the contrary, France is at the moment plunged into a whirlpool—one might almost say a cess-pool—of parochial politics which are all but unintelligible to the foreign onlooker.

In brief the situation is this: The existing Chamber of Deputies has still a decisive majority composed of members who were elected by the *Cartel*—that is, by a combination of Radicals and Socialists. But France is ruled by a cabinet headed by the man whom the *Cartel* expelled from office and containing not a few representatives of the *Bloc National*, which represents the group of parties opposed to the *Cartel*.

This wholly unnatural situation arises from the fact that in two years of absolute power the *Cartel* so wrecked the finances of France that in the summer of 1926 the country was within two steps of bankruptcy. At that hour, in response to a profound and passionate national demand, the *Cartel* was compelled to bow, to agree to a cabinet of national not party character, and, what was bitterest, to a Poincaré Cabinet.

In a little more than a year, Poincaré has restored the French financial situation. The franc is now pegged and has remained steady for many months. Confidence has been restored, temporary disturbances incident to the rescue and the restoration of the franc have come to an end. Last year the French budget was balanced, this year the same satisfactory result is assured.

But it is clear that while Poincaré has really wrought a miracle, his task is far from completed. Actual stabilization of the franc is still to come. While the general situation is vastly improved, it is far from being beyond the reach of new disaster.

Given this condition, what is more natural than a general demand on the part

of business and finance, of many elements in France, that the present cabinet of national concentration should continue, that there should be a truce in party strife for several years to come; in a word, that Poincaré should be permitted to complete his labors, to "achieve" in the significant word of André Tardieu?

But any such solution is wholly distasteful to the various elements in the *Cartel* and more particularly to the Radical and Radical Socialist groups, since the *Cartel* has perished and the Socialists are now in the opposition. They want to resume office and they want to return to absolute control. And what is more striking is the fact that they are prepared, to get office, to go back to the old bargain with the Socialists.

Already there have been very clear indications of the purpose of the Radicals and Radical Socialists. Claiming for themselves the credit for the restoration of French finances, because they have supplied the votes without which Poincaré could not have remained in office, they argue now that the time has come for them to resume office. And to regain office they are seeking to mobilize every possible political passion.

What is most astonishing of all is that, viewed from the outside, there is every present prospect that the old *Cartel* will reform its ranks and win the election. This prospect is explained by two circumstances. To save French solvency, Poincaré has been obliged to impose very heavy taxes, which have aroused nationwide protest. In the second place Poincaré himself, who might be expected to take the lead in the struggle to preserve the existing combination until his task is finished, is once more disclosing his essential weaknesses as a politician, having shown his great ability as a public official.

It is hard to believe, in view of events still recent, that, were Poincaré to speak

with the firmness of Clemenceau in the dark days of the war, France would not respond as clearly. But Poincaré cannot speak clearly. He is always hesitating. His hesitation, in part at least, grows out of the fact that in most matters of domestic politics he belongs by history and by sympathy with the very groups which are seeking to turn him out of office again as they did in 1924.

For the American, indeed for all but the Frenchman, Poincaré is an extreme Nationalist and reactionary, the man of the Ruhr and the Sunday "sermons." But in fact, while he is in foreign affairs a Nationalist because he is a native of the border province of Lorraine, he is by instinct a republican of the Left, a liberal and even a progressive, as we would say in America, in all domestic matters. Among other things too, he is profoundly anti-clerical, which associates him with the Radicals.

In this situation he finds himself, as he did four years ago, faced with the dilemma of opposing the political groups with which he has natural affinities and leading those groups with which he agrees only on foreign questions or of openly joining the *Cartel*, which overturned him in 1924. And the fundamental defect in Poincaré's character is his inability to take a decision. Thus he remains to all outward appearance undecided, perhaps hoping that French public opinion will, in the end, compel the politicians to obey a national will.

Outwardly, one must confess that there is little sign of any such national will. Events seem moving steadily toward a new victory of the old *Cartel*. The French press is crowded with denunciation of the course of the Radicals and Radical Socialists. Apprehension as to the economic and financial consequences of a return of the *Cartel* to power is growing in all quarters, but seemingly the drift to the Left continues. In Paris the protest perhaps obtains a hearing, but in the provinces political considerations overbalance national.

Thus the present outlook for the spring election is plain. France seems destined to fall again into the hands of the Radicals and the Radical Socialists. This combination may make some sort of alliance with the Socialists. Their hope is that they will win a victory so complete as to enable them to control the Chamber without Socialist aid, but they are out to win control.

Restored to power, these groups, headed by Herriot, Painlevé, and Briand, will unquestionably seek to revive the effort to reach an understanding with Germany. Their victory would doubtless have repercussions in Germany. To that extent the success of the Left might be a gain for Europe. But just as certainly it would be at least a menace to French stability, because these are the men and parties responsible for the ruin of 1926.

Moreover, if these radical groups are unable to obtain a majority without the aid of the Socialists, then we are bound to see a repetition of that disastrous interference of the Socialists, who, because they held the fate of the *Cartel* in their hands from 1924 to 1926, were able to impose upon it every sort of dangerous and disturbing domestic policy. And, despite all that Poincaré has done, neither French finance nor French industry is yet at a fool-proof point.

The unmistakable threat of disaster in the French situation to-day grows out of the fact that under the group system of parties it is never possible to put before the electorate, in black and white, any concrete issue. No party or group represents the mind of France as a whole, to-day. That mind is profoundly pacific. It is in domestic affairs liberal and even progressive, but at the same time it is in finance and business strikingly conservative.

Unhappily, the men who represent most ably the idea of sound financial policy belong to that *Bloc National*, whose foreign policy is rather traditional than influenced by the ideas of Geneva and Locarno. By contrast the men who are most conspicuously and successfully working for international understanding, have demonstrated themselves woefully inept in managing practical financial questions.

Thus men vote according to habit, with their own respective groups, because no alternative presents itself sufficiently strong to lead them away from party lines. There is no man who bulks large enough and speaks with sufficient clarity and authority to enlist support. And the vast mass of French men and women are resolved under no circumstance to have a Mussolini, or, as they would say, still another Napoleon.

Thus one has the promise of the recurrence of the paradox of a control by groups which will work for international understanding but whose internal policies may produce domestic bankruptcy.



### *III. The German Puzzle*

When one turns to the German situation at the approach of the spring election, one is confronted by many of the same bewildering and complex elements which characterize the French. If France is to-day ruled by a combination of parties as naturally antagonistic as the Democratic and Republican in the United States, nevertheless all accept the existing régime. But the German Parliament is dominated by a majority made up of the groups which accept and of others which reject the republic in all their affirmations of political faith.

To-day the Marx-Stresemann Cabinet holds office by virtue of the alliance of the Catholic Party, the People's Party and the Nationalists, supported by certain oddments of smaller groups. But of these three parties the Center is unqualifiedly republican and the Nationalist equally uncompromisingly monarchist. As for the People's Party, it represents Big Business, which is opportunist, but to-day, while it is perhaps made up of a majority of those who are monarchists by tradition and principle, it is led by men who, like Stresemann, regard the possibility of a restoration of the monarchy as nonexistent.

This incongruous combination of fundamentally antipathetic elements finds its explanation in internal politics. It rests upon the two-fold program of obtaining special tariff and other benefits for the Nationalists, who are in the main agrarian, and equally special educational laws for the Catholic Center. Moreover, the People's Party, which is at one time industrial and Protestant, has little real sympathy with either project.

Nevertheless, the People's Party was responsible for bringing the Nationalists into the government, because Stresemann and his associates believed that the moment had come to compel the Nationalists to assume responsibility, to accept the situation which exists, and to undertake engagements to respect both the Locarno Pact and German adhesion to the League of Nations. And, beyond this, the People's Party was looking for a combination of all the Bourgeois parties against the Socialists and the Communists.

On the whole, it must be said at once that the combination has failed to realize any of the hopes of its authors. Aside from the

fact that the Nationalists have obtained certain tariff measures which they sought, every one has come out badly. The hope of the People's Party that the Nationalists would become less violently hostile to the policy of appeasement has been destroyed again and again. The Nationalists, in their press and in the speeches of their leaders, remain intransigent, violent and bitter.

As a consequence of this spirit, expressed in a measure in the famous Hindenburg speech at Tannenberg, France has, as we have seen, taken alarm and all the German hopes of obtaining an early evacuation of the Rhineland, or at least a sweeping reduction of the forces of occupation, have come to nothing. There has been disclosed the fact that whatever may be the domestic consequences of the presence of the Nationalists in office, all of the repercussions in foreign relations are unfortunate. Ancient enemies, while prepared to make concessions to a republican Germany, to a Cabinet made up of the liberal and democratic groups, takes another line when Nationalism is in the saddle or even in the Cabinet.

But because the Nationalists have contributed to wreck the foreign policy of Germany and are responsible for the halt in appeasement and the postponement of evacuation, the Catholic Center has suffered directly as a consequence. It assented to the coalition, otherwise impossible, in the hope of getting its school legislation through. However, not only has this not been enacted, but there is a general revolt against it, and this revolt is accentuated since S. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General of the Dawes Plan, has indicated that the expenses involved are so large as to carry menace to the Dawes Plan payments themselves.

The combination with the Monarchists is, in itself, distasteful to the Centrists, a very considerable number of whom are working men and naturally republicans, and the mere making of the combination precipitated quarrels and bitterness within the party. The fact that the price which was to be received for their entrance is not to be paid certainly accentuates the resentment. Nor is this resentment lessened by the fact that the Catholic Center, of all parties the most eager to arrive at appeasement and understanding, particularly with France, and to hasten evacuation, since it is

the Catholic Rhineland which is occupied, suffers most from the consequences of Nationalist intransigence and chauvinism.

As for the People's Party, it, too, has lost prestige as a result of the combination. Stresemann remains the dominant figure in German politics. No change in party control or in combination can conceivably expel him from his present post as Foreign Minister for a long time to come. But he has steadily found that his foreign policy, based on the ideas of Locarno, has been compromised and halted by Nationalist tactics. Moreover, his position has been made even more difficult because the People's Party, liberal and even anti-clerical by inheritance from the old National Liberal Party, has risen in revolt against the Center's school legislation.

Thus, while in France a combination which has succeeded, although made up of totally incongruous elements, seems on the point of dissolution; in Germany a similar coalition, which has failed, is now about to face an election. What will be the result? To judge from all the opinions expressed to me by Germans during and since the Assembly of the League at Geneva, the German elections, like the French, are going to the Left.

This means, in American terms, that the Social Democrats, who count 130 seats now and with the thirty-five Democrats and an equal number of Communists make up the opposition, seem almost certain to score very considerable gains. They are likely to come back with 150 members in a Reichstag of about 500 seats. Their gain will come from the Communists, and perhaps even from the Democrats, who are a sinking party. By contrast, the Nationalists and the People's Party may make slight losses. As for the Catholic Party, it is practically immutable and will doubtless come back about seventy strong, as usual.

But, following the election, most Germans see the promise of a collapse of the present coalition and the reformation of the old republican bloc, composed of the Social Democrats, the Democrats, the Catholic Center and the People's Party. This would compose all the parties supporting the republic; it would have more than 300 seats, that is, a decisive majority; and it would be a coalition certain to resume the work of understanding with France interrupted by the arrival of Nationalists in power.

In contemporary Germany there are

many conflicting signs which make analysis difficult. Yet it seems clear that if Germany is not pacifist in any idealistic sense, it is realistic. And because it is realistic it has accepted not merely the republic but the fact of peace. The new Germany in the making will not be merely passive, enduring all the consequences of defeat with resignation. On the contrary, it already looks to the restoration of the German position, but it enters the new struggle convinced of the necessity to achieve by economic and industrial triumph, not by arms.

More than any continental nation Germany has need of a peaceful Europe, of a prosperous Europe. It has reorganized its finances and its industry, it has wrought a miracle in national restoration, but despite every outward appearance of success and even of prosperity, Germany is living on borrowed money coming mainly from America, and it can only continue in its present state, provided the world can shortly begin to absorb the vast production of the new German industrial system.

All German interest at the same time seeks evacuation of the occupied districts and economic coöperation, but recent events have demonstrated that evacuation can be had only when Germany is ruled by a republican combination. Hence the importance of a change in political combinations.

Were the election in Germany to take the course forecast to-day, were the French election to follow the line similarly expected, it is easy to see that next year might mark important progress in the direction of European readjustment. For, while France refuses to trust a Germany ruled by a cabinet dominated by Nationalists, Germany discloses similar distrust of a France controlled by a Poincaré Cabinet. On the other hand, were the Poincaré Cabinet to be continued and the Nationalist-Center-People's Party bloc to be reformed after the May election, the whole course of European events might be changed and the work of reconciliation and coöperation at the very least definitely postponed.

What is interesting to note is that in both countries the prospect is for the victory of the radical parties, but while this victory gives either side of the Rhine equal promise of a gain for peace, it similarly carries a measure of peril for domestic prosperity if not order. For in both instances you have the same phenomenon, which is fact almost

to be called continental, namely, that the parties which alone can be trusted to promote reconciliation abroad are precisely the parties least capable of administering national affairs.

Thus, in Germany, the formation of a republican bloc would put the Social Democrats in a position of decisive importance since they would be the largest single party in the group, while in France the restoration of the Cartel would give the same position, to a degree at least, to the Socialists. Accordingly, while it would be absurd to confuse the Socialists with the Communists, or attach either to the French Socialists or the German Social Democrats anything of a Bolshevik reproach, both are committed in advance to projects and principles which must have grave meaning for business and finance.

By contrast, one has always to remember

that it is between the parties which style themselves socialist and radical, but answer rather to the American conception of progressive and liberal than to our notion of radical or socialist, that there exists not only sympathy but a degree of understanding. While French and German Nationalists continue to shout the old battle cries at each other and seek to revive and preserve the ancient suspicions, the work of reconciliation, and of promoting international understanding is done by the radicals, Socialists and Social Democrats.

Thus, looking to the present prospects of election results in both France and Germany, one may say that the promise is for the victory of the groups working for peace in the largest sense, but in both countries the greatest weakness of these groups lies in their ineptitude to deal with the larger problems of modern industry and finance.

#### *IV. In Great Britain*

There remains to be considered the British situation. Since I hope early in the new year to send from London a detailed account of the British conditions, I shall limit myself at the moment to a discussion of the prospects in England as they bear directly upon the general European situation. This bearing, it is patent, may be decisive because progress in Europe to-day depends upon the coöperation of Britain, Germany and France.

At the outset, one must note that while elections must come in France and Germany in the coming year, it will be possible for the Tory Government to hold on legally until 1929. Nor can one deny that there is at the moment some likelihood that this will take place. And in a sense this possibility grows out of the recognition by the Tories that the present hour is highly unpropitious for them.

On the whole the failure of the Baldwin Cabinet is equally absolute alike in the field of domestic and of foreign affairs. It came to power in 1924 after a period of unrest and disturbance culminating in the Russian incidents, which brought down the Labor Government and gave the Tories an almost unmanageably big majority. No new ministry ever had a greater opportunity, none was ever faced with more complete national demand for firmness and efficiency.

Abroad the Tories began well with Lo-

carno; in fact, they did not more than carry on in the spirit which MacDonald had created in Europe. But at home the general strike was badly handled or, more exactly, when the Tories had been backed by an amazing display of national spirit in putting down the general strike, they missed the tide in the matter of industrial peace. The result was the long-drawn-out coal strike, which was national disaster not merely because of the cost, but because of the passions aroused.

As a consequence the Labor Party, which seemed crushed in 1924, began to regain lost ground and has continued to progress in every by-election. In the foreign field, too, Tory policy was less and less successful. Little by little Britain became isolated at Geneva, while the failure of the Disarmament Conference and the Naval Conference in the present year were grave political disasters at home.

To-day there is unmistakable diminution in Tory strength. Not only is labor continuing to gain, but the Liberal Party, despite the incubus of Lloyd George, is showing signs of reanimation. Were an election to be held to-day, it seems the settled judgment of most observers that the Tory party would be put in a minority. That Labor would win outright remains doubtful. On the other hand, the possibility of a Liberal-Labor combination is widely accepted.

Whether Labor won outright or was joined by the Liberal Party, it is certain that the spirit, if not the actual policy, of British foreign relations would be changed. The revolt of Lord Robert Cecil against British action both in regard to the League of Nations generally and with respect of the Navy Conference has attracted general attention. The immediate repercussions of his words, both in America and on the Continent, have excited British disquiet.

Thus were Labor and the Liberals to come to power there would almost certainly be a change in British tone at Geneva. At bottom, the foreign policy of the Tories is the old idea of great powers. The League is accepted as a useful instrument, as a valuable façade, but the underlying spirit is unmistakably pre-war. British influence at Geneva for three years has been exercised to restrain rather than forward League ideas and, in the end, this year, the British were in an uncomfortable minority.

The same distrust which militates against the radical parties in Germany and France, acts to the disadvantage of Labor in Britain. Like Herriot, MacDonald made a mess of domestic affairs. The program of Labor which looks to the nationalization of mines and railways arouses all the instinctive apprehension of the property classes. And yet, there is the transparent fact that where once MacDonald restored British prestige abroad Chamberlain has on the whole since then compromised it.

Of the three great powers who made the war and survived it without dictatorships, Britain has unmistakably suffered the most. To-day measured by existing conditions it is Germany and France who seem to have recovered and Britain to have permanently lost the war. Every effort, all the heroic sacrifices of post-war times have not restored pre-war prosperity or reduced the burden of unemployment, which in a Germany of 65,000,000 counts for only 500,000 and in France of 41,000,000 less than 20,000, while in Britain it still passes 1,000,000.

The battle over the coal industry, which ended in the defeat of the miners and the acceptance by them of reduced wages, has not restored the coal business even to approximate solvency. In the aggregate, the raising of coal remains unprofitable, and, while the miners work for meager wages, British coal does not successfully compete with foreign as in the pre-war period.

The unrest which has existed in Britain since the close of the war on the whole continues. There are here and there signs of improvement, but they are isolated evidences. The burden of taxation remains constant, the cost of government increases. And while expenditures in armaments have been reduced in all European countries save Russia, the British appropriations have been advanced and there is now in prospect a costly naval competition with the United States.

On balance, then, the Tory Government has made a poor showing. It must go to election, unless there is some swift and great change, handicapped by the evidences of its failure. And it is the consciousness of this fact that leads it to hold on, waiting for a more favorable moment, or, failing that, at least retaining power to the latest possible hour.

It remains true, however, that unless all signs fail, the end is assured. If that end should arrive next year, one might see three liberal governments, liberal in a non-partisan sense, concomitantly in power in Britain, France and Germany. Were that to come about, unmistakably the gain for European reconciliation would be very great. In fact, that would restore the conditions of 1924, when MacDonald, Herriot and Marx made the Dawes Plan and cleared the road for Locarno. No similar coöperation would be possible were the Tory Government to hold on or were it to win the next election.

However, the main point which I desired to make in this article was that all surface signs in France, Germany and Britain point with striking similarity not merely to the drift of popular sentiment toward the liberal, progressive and peace-making parties, but that this drift in all three countries, at least at the moment, seems to foreshadow success at the polls for these parties. In a word, there seems a promise of a repetition of the events of 1924, which saw a Labor Government in London, a Cartel control in Paris, and a republican bloc still dominant in Berlin.

In every country this tendency is combated by all conservative influence as constituting a menace to industry, finance and business, but in all, it has its main impulse in the popular approval of foreign policies making for reconciliation and coöperation.



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# Ritchie, the Man With an Issue

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BY HERBERT BRUCKER

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**A** PHOTOGRAPHER says that most politicians are good sitters," reports the London *Punch*, and adds, "Unfortunately they are seldom photographed in their characteristic attitude, sitting on the fence."

Whatever may be true of Great Britain, political fence-straddling and issue-dodging are more than a joke in the United States. That is why the country is turning curious eyes on a man who takes his stand squarely on one side of the highest fence in American government, and who says things like this:

"If there is to-day a loss in political interest, I suspect that it comes partly because the people feel, and with much justice, that political battles are too often sham battles, and that there is in them too much hypocrisy and pussy-footing away from realities, too much self-seeking and often downright imbecility."

This man is Albert Cabell Ritchie, thrice Governor of Maryland, a State which since 1838, when it began choosing governors by popular vote, has never elected the same Governor twice. He is a Democrat, and at present hovers in an indefinite second place behind Governor Smith of New York, according to the Democratic haruspices who would divine the name of their presidential nominee in 1928. Governor Ritchie has achieved this prominence partly by what he has done, and partly by the doctrine

he preaches. It runs somewhat as follows:

An entirely new conception of law is creeping over the United States. It seeks to replace government as the fundamental framework of society with government as the policeman of private life. Its method is to draw the affairs of local government

into a bureaucracy at Washington, there to bind them fast with red tape. Under it the individual is being submerged. What is needed is a refreshed and rejuvenated local government like that written into the Constitution, applied to the needs of changing America.

To quote Governor Ritchie: "Our Government has become the most regulatory in the Western world except Russia and Italy. Inspectors and spies and official regulators follow the 100 per cent. American from the day he draws his first nourishment from his inspected mother's breast.

"In some places he cannot marry whom he pleases, but must mate in accordance with the eugenic dictates of a State uplift bureaucracy. In other places, when his children come, a police power tries to tell him how he shall raise them and to what schools he shall send them and what they may not be taught.

"Here he is told what he may eat, there what he may smoke, and everywhere what he may not drink. What he may read or write or see on the stage is prescribed, too, and not content with this, his government



ALBERT C. RITCHIE

advises him how to hang curtains in his home; what meat to cook for his dinner; and in this year of 1927, under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture, there was distributed throughout the country a treatise entitled "A Pocket Essay on Kissing."

It has been my privilege to talk with Governor Ritchie, to ask him to explain, in concrete affairs of the day, how he looks on American government. I found him first of all a normal, candid human being. He is tall, perhaps five feet eleven, stands straight with an air of restrained activity, and looks every inch a gentleman. He has a smooth crop of hair, almost white, over a healthily ruddy face that is always quick to laugh with sincere good humor. His voice is friendly and agreeable, the more so for its Southern sound. It seems the outward sign of an inward culture, for although this man is very much in politics he is anything but what the word politician usually means. Somehow he gives the impression that in him the amenities of the old South have been brought into the busy, jostling Twentieth Century, there to feel very much at home, and very much on the job.

#### *State Rights in 1928*

Governor Ritchie will look you cheerfully in the eye and tell you that what he stands for is nothing spectacular, nothing about which the citizenry will get excited. That remains a question. What he has done is to delve far back into American life before the ages of Normalcy and Prosperity, and bring forth an ancient name: State Rights. It is an ancient name, but in his hands it has come to mean something no more ancient than the campaign of 1928.

"Many years ago State Rights used to mean the right of each State to decide for itself whether or not the Federal Government has exceeded its powers under the Constitution," he explains. "But that meaning died with the Civil War. What we mean when we speak of State Rights to-day is the right of the States to local self-government, to settle home affairs at home, and to be let alone by the Federal Government and by the other States acting through the Federal Government."

Ask Governor Ritchie where to draw the line between local government and national government, and the answer is, "It may seem difficult to draw that line, but you can tell pretty surely with each specific issue."

"Specific issue." That is a welcome sound in this time of solemn ambiguities like "I believe that the law ought to be enforced," or "Questions of foreign affairs should be settled on American principles." One of the favorite subjects for issue-dodgers is, of course, Prohibition. Hence it is refreshing to ask Governor Ritchie what he thinks about it—but it is unnecessary. Get him talking about State Rights and his political philosophy, and he will immediately climb down out of the higher realms of political science and cite Prohibition as a concrete problem of the sort upon which his ideas of government feed.

#### *Prohibition a Local Problem*

Governor Ritchie is known as a Wet. He is wet not because he advocates liquor, but because he believes that stronger local government will meet the problems caused by liquor squarely and effectively—certainly more effectively than a national law blanketing Wet and Dry communities as though they were alike.

"I want to see an intolerable condition righted—not to please the Wets or the Drys, but to further the cause of temperance and of respect for law in a way that will stand square with sound principles of government," he argues. "In this, as in many other things, it seems roughly to be the city fellow fighting the country fellow. It seems obvious that the law should be made to fit this natural division. The States, through local-option laws, could do this. I am convinced that in Maryland, and in many other States that formerly had these laws, we were getting along much better than under national Prohibition. Naturally, there was some difference between Baltimore and other parts of Maryland. But each was free to determine its wants, and most of the counties went dry."

"You see, Prohibition goes deeper than law enforcement—if that were all, we would have only to enforce the law."

Maryland is still known as Maryland Free State, and its citizens are proud that the heritage of Constitutional freedom—the right to say and read what one pleases, to believe what one pleases, to assemble peaceably, to be tried by a jury, to be immune from unreasonable searches and seizures, all so long as kept within the bounds of human decency and practised at no hurt to other men—is maintained more intact in their State than any other.

Governor Ritchie was born in Richmond, Va., his mother's home, on August 29, 1876; but when a few weeks old was brought to Baltimore, where his father was a judge on the city Supreme Bench. His forebears, coming originally from Scotland, had lived in Maryland and Virginia more than a century and a quarter. In Baltimore Governor Ritchie grew up, absorbing its tradition as he breathed its air. He has himself become a part of this tradition, and there is now a ring in his voice when he says, "Certainly there is no doubt that in the United States generally many of our so-called guaranteed liberties are no longer guaranteed," he says. "Under the Volstead Law we can subject the same man to trial by the Federal Government and State Government. That comes pretty close to putting him in double jeopardy. It may not make much difference to the one government that he has been tried by the other, but it does to the man. He has to be there both times.

"Moreover, I think we go too far in substituting contempt proceedings and padlock injunctions for jury trials. If you are accused of crime and the court enjoins you, and you break the injunction, you are up for contempt of court. That means that you never get before a jury of twelve men. One man, the one who enjoins you, is the only one before whom you appear.

"Another right written into the Constitution is protection against unreasonable search and seizure. Certainly we have gone the limit in interpreting that."

#### *Too Much Federal Government*

Governor Ritchie sees curtailment of Constitutional liberties as only a part of our present troubles with government.

The country has grown closer together, a tendency which leads Governor Ritchie to say, "Of course the Federal Government should deal now with things that, when the Constitution was written, were never even dreamed of. Not the wildest imagination at that time could foresee the modern transcontinental, interstate railroad. Obviously we now have to have Federal supervision of railroads. But allowing for all that, I think we have gone too far."

One trouble is that Washington is too far away, too far removed from local problems, in the eyes of the Governor of Maryland Free State. "I do not see how you can make a democratic government

work," he says, "unless the people take an interest in it. But only about half the eligible people vote for President, and only a majority of that half elects him. I do not think we can wonder at that. It comes from too much Federal Government. The more you emphasize local government the closer you are to government. You can watch it, and that means that you take an interest in it, and the more interest you take in it the better your government. I think we are making a mistake in building up this great big Washington machine.

"I do not think there is any answer to the fact that you must give as much local government as possible."

#### *Agriculture a National Problem*

If the troubles of Prohibition are in Governor Ritchie's view best left on the doorsteps of the States, the troubles of Western farmers are not. Farms are a basic industry, and anything which affects so vitally a large portion of the nation is a national problem. Governor Ritchie hesitates to lay down the law about it. "I am not a farmer," he says, "nor am I one of those who can visit Europe for a month and then write a book about it. When recently I went to Nebraska, I spent only a very short time there. But I did learn interesting things.

"You now have the government helping the railroads with a guaranteed return, helping labor by restricting immigration, and helping industry by tariff. I don't see how we can blame the Western farmer for asking 'Where do I come in?' I was amazed at what I heard out there. I don't think the East has really had a chance to hear the farmers, and perhaps they haven't had a chance to hear the East."

Governor Ritchie feels that one trouble is that farmers are not agreed among themselves as to what ought to be done. But he does not dismiss it with that. He cannot help looking at it "as any man in private business would." Were the farming West and the industrial East with its tariff, railroads and labor not in politics, sensible and sane leaders of all would meet quietly and bring their views into contact.

He presented this idea to a number of Western Governors, because he was not an expert on the farm problem and had no panacea to offer. Many, like Governor McMullen of Nebraska and Governor Hammill of Iowa, took to it heartily.

"Of course"—and here Governor Ritchie will smile—"Of course that means suggesting a conference, which is the easy way out of any difficulty. Still, those men out there are willing to come East if only they can get a hearing. Calling such a conference would be difficult politically. But as I see it, the chances of settling even this trouble would be anything but hopeless."

#### *Still Another Amendment?*

It may be news to many who have had the existence of a farm problem dinned into their consciousness either by life itself or by almost daily headlines, to learn that there is a Child Labor problem. A Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, which would give Congress power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age, has been presented to the States.

At first one thinks, Why not? If some employers are still living far enough back in the Nineteenth Century to exploit children, should they not be prevented by a national law?

Governor Ritchie points out that the proposal is one of those which, based on evangelical aims, would carry the nation's affairs to the Capital. It is not fair to paint the situation, in his view, as though only those who favored the Amendment were concerned with children's welfare, leaving those who want the regulating done by States apparently in league with the devil. Both groups want to help the children; it is simply a question of how to go about it. To Governor Ritchie it is the same old thing: "I think you can do a better job if you settle home affairs back home." Let farming States like Kansas look after their children, and industrial States like Pennsylvania look after theirs. Let persons who desire to protect children apply their pressure in local legislatures, and see to it that each State looks after the peculiar needs of its own children in its own industries. It would work better, Ritchie thinks, than trying to apply one law to the differing conditions of all States.

The same principle applies to teaching children, for there are those who want a Federal Department of Education. "Even if it only comes to getting Federal appropriations to go toward State schools—as money for roads already does—it seems to me an entering wedge of standardization."

Even granted that were desirable, there

remains the argument that if the supreme authority over the schools is in the State capital, rather than perhaps two thousand miles away in Washington, parents will take a sharper interest in how that school is run.

A few years ago he made a study of what is called the 50-50 system of Federal aid for building State highways, under which Washington gives States an appropriation on condition that they contribute a like amount. He found that what Washington had collected in Federal taxes and paid back for roads came to only half of one per cent. for one Eastern State, but reached from 100 to more than 300 per cent. for some Western States. He does not object to Federal help for these sparsely settled communities, which otherwise could not build their share of the national highway system. What he does object to is the element of Federal supervision. Why should control remain in Washington? he asks. Why not let Nevada build its own roads over its own deserts and through its own mountains?

#### *Let Honest Business Alone*

To see a prominent Democrat preaching a historic Democratic doctrine, and finding himself saying something that must be received with cheer by Big Business, is hardly usual. It is almost like seeing a hen swim. Yet it happens when Governor Ritchie talks on how much control the national government ought to have over business. He has seen industry swing away from its predatory origins in the Industrial Revolution toward a realization that the good-will of the people is its own best friend. And now he finds in the relation of business to government another link for his chain of evidence, and says that Washington ought to leave honest business alone. He feels that what regulating there must be should come more extensively from business itself. As he once said in a speech:

"The disposition of business is to think too much that it deals only with economic problems; and that economic principles are one thing and political principles are another. They are not." Politics do not run according to mysterious laws, eternal principles, the teachings of the Fathers, or any other overworked slogan. "Governments are merely mortal men in power and the laws and functions of government are shaped, like those of business, by experience and by the practical business wisdom and horse sense of those who sit in power. . . .



If industry will once visualize the problems of government as essentially its own, and will with high resolve truly sense the importance of its political relations, we may hope for the dawn of a political era in which business will write for itself and share in writing for mankind a new charter of safety and sanity and of liberty and human rights."

No more is needed to make clear Governor Ritchie's stand. How would it work, if, say, in 1928 the nation determined to govern itself on these principles? For answer one can not do better than turn to the recent history of Maryland.

#### *Accomplishment in Maryland*

When Governor Ritchie took office eight years ago he found that the State school system—one of his State Rights pets—was suffering from a lack of vitamins. Immediately he set about supplying them.

"Mostly it was a matter of getting a strong school board and a strong superintendent," he says. "We went to the General Education Board, the Carnegie Foundation, and similar institutions, to ask for the best man they knew. They told us we need not have come to them, since the man we wanted was already superintendent in one of our own counties—a man named Albert S. Cook. We looked him over, and put him in.

"It was not necessary to change the curriculum much. What the children were getting was all right; it was the way they were getting it that was weak. The keynote was teacher training. Where there wasn't any morale, and few could be found really interested in teaching, the spirit is now of the finest. Cook has not only inspired the teachers to enthusiasm, but has inspired young people to take up teaching, so that there are now more than seven times as many normal-school graduates in the counties as there were seven years ago. I took great interest in our schools, but all I really did was get a good man, and turn him loose. He found what was needed, and I backed him up."

The way in which Governor Ritchie says "backed him up" gives the impression that some of that morale came from higher up than the school department. However that may be, parents and citizens generally are interested, and cheerfully proud of the State record of having advanced further in

seven years, without spending too much, than any other State.

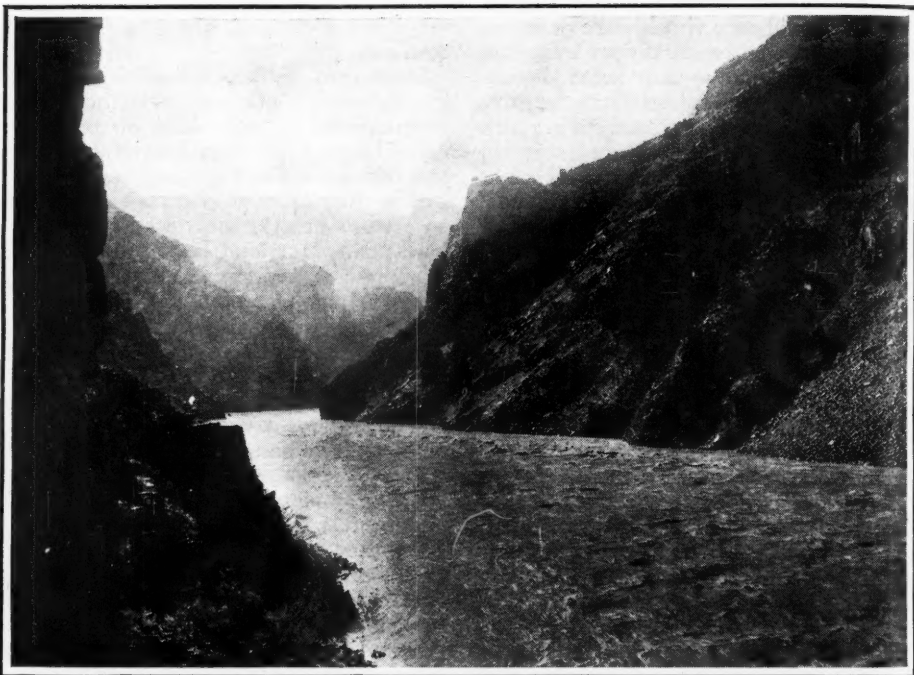
Since 1920 the population of Maryland has increased 7 per cent., and the State's governmental activities have of course expanded very considerably. But during this period the State tax rate has been decreased from over 36½ cents per \$100 in 1920 to about 25½ cents now. This is the lowest rate Maryland has had since 1912. It represents a decrease during Governor Ritchie's administrations of 30 per cent., and is the largest reduction ever made in the State tax rate in Maryland in any year or group of years since the Civil War.

Other problems in Governor Ritchie's administrations have been less spectacular, but they have been settled, each in its own way, by the same simple method of finding out what was needed, and doing it. Most important was a reshuffling of the State government to bring it up into the Twentieth Century. As in New York and other States, government had grown and grown until it was overlapping, extravagant and clumsy. Governor Ritchie put a complete reorganization program through his second legislature; departments and boards were combined or cut down from about fifty-five to nineteen, boards were cut from five or three officials to one, elections were made to come only once in two years, and money was saved all around. The wheels of government now turn easily in Maryland.

So it is that its Governor has behind him an argument of considerable force when he pleads that as much power as possible be left to the States, on the ground that they could do a better job. Certainly the people of his State seem to think so. His majority was only 165 when he was first elected Governor in 1919, having been successively lawyer, assistant solicitor of Baltimore City, assistant counsel to the Maryland Public Service Commission, general counsel of the United States War Industries Board, and Attorney-General of the State. By 1923, when he went into a second term where no man chosen by popular election had ever held one before, his majority had grown to 41,000; and in 1926, when for the third time Governor Ritchie ran and was elected, it was 60,000.

"I think I'd better quit before I spoil my record," is his comment.

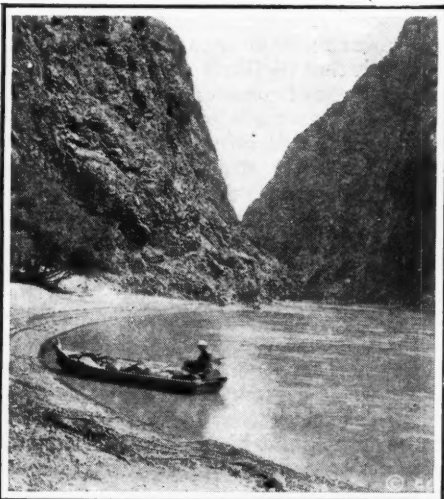
Which remains to be seen.



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#### AT THE BOTTOM OF THE GRAND CANYON

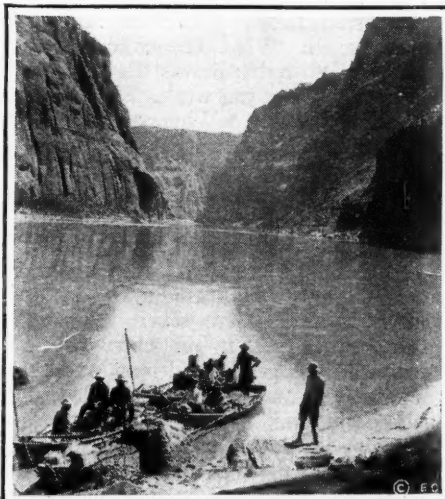
This scenic spot where the Colorado River has cut so deep into the heart of mother earth is in Arizona. Other States whose watersheds feed this extraordinary river are California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico.



© E. C. La Rue

#### BOULDER CANYON

Here is the proposed dam site on that part of the Colorado River which forms a boundary between Arizona and Nevada. It is at a height sufficient to irrigate by gravity California and Mexico and a small part of Arizona, but not the other States interested.



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#### LEE'S FERRY

This point in the Colorado River divides the so-called Upper Basin States from the Lower. The questions under discussion involve how much of the water flowing in the river shall belong to each State for the purposes of water power and irrigation.

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# The Colorado River Controversy

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BY DWIGHT B. HEARD

• An Adviser to Arizona's Colorado River Commission

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**T**WENTY years ago, Theodore Roosevelt said that one of our greatest national duties was changing the waste of the Colorado River into controlled use. Ever since then far-seeing men, in increasing numbers, have been trying to put the vision of Roosevelt into action.

The sessions of the Colorado River Conference, held in Denver in August and September this year, lasting over a month, illustrate the new movement in the seven Colorado River basin States to unite on a plan of action for promptly harnessing the Colorado. Such a plan should be based on just coöperation among all the basin States and the federal Government, and should remove the Colorado River or Boulder Dam controversy from the twilight zone between State and federal rights. To succeed, the plan necessarily must admit the sovereign rights of the States to the use of their lands and water and the right of the federal Government to control interstate navigation on the stream.

While public attention has been focused on the very important feature of flood control, the underlying reason for the fierce controversy that has waged around Boulder Canyon has been over the millions of horsepower, or "white coal," involved in the canyons of the Colorado, mostly in Arizona. At seven carefully studied power sites in Arizona, and at one partly in Arizona and partly in Nevada, practically 4,000,000 firm horsepower can be developed, equal to 80 per cent. of the hydro-electric power used in the United States last year. These figures are obtained from recent publications of the Geological Survey. These same reports show that in the last four years the use of power in the United States has increased 40 per cent., and that 35 per cent. of the power used was hydro-electric, which is holding its own despite the tremendous increase in the efficiency of steam-generated power.

The Colorado River Conference is composed of the Governors of the seven Colorado River basin States, the official Colorado River Commissioners and other advisers of these States, and a group of Senators and Congressmen from that region.

To put a constructive development plan into effect it is essential not only that the seven States and the federal Government agree on the plan, but that all the basin States approve the Colorado River Compact, adopted at Santa Fé, New Mexico, on November 22, 1922. This Compact was well described by Herbert Hoover, who presided at the meeting, as a "forty-year vacation from litigation."

## *Five Years of Disagreement*

The Compact was never officially approved by Arizona, only conditionally approved by California, and Utah has refused to accept the Compact unless all the basin States approve it. One of its fundamental principles was protection of the Upper Colorado River Basin States, which supply most of the water, from the establishment of priority rights to the use of water by the more rapidly developing lower basin States. It is this same principle that Arizona has stood for in her efforts to obtain a tri-State treaty with California and Nevada (the other lower basin States) to protect Arizona's future development against the acquirement of adverse prior rights by California or the Republic of Mexico.

This controversy over Colorado River development and the approval of the Compact has raged for five years. Last March it resulted in the defeat in Congress of the Swing-Johnson bill, now generally regarded as an invasion of State sovereignty, and a bill which included at least the possibility of the federal Government entering the power business.

Realizing that it was nothing short of an economic crime for one of the nation's

greatest resources, the Colorado River, to remain longer undeveloped, Governor George H. Dern of Utah, after a careful personal study last summer of conditions in Arizona and California underlying the dispute between these States, instituted a movement which resulted in Governors William A. Adams of Colorado, Frank C. Emerson of Wyoming, and H. C. Dillon of New Mexico joining with him in the call for the Colorado River Conference.

#### *A New Conference of Seven States*

Governor Dern, unanimously elected chairman, in opening the conference at Denver on August 22 last, well outlined its vital purposes when he said:

"Unless we are here with determination to do justice as well as to seek justice our deliberations are foredoomed to failure. Statesmanship and enlightened self-interest alike dictate that we compose our differences and go before the country as a compact unit. God has made us neighbors, let justice make us friends."

Among the accomplishments of the Colorado River Conference was the unanimous adoption of the Mexican Resolution, signed by the seven Governors and presented to President Coolidge and Secretary of State

Kellogg. This resolution urged that to prevent friction and misunderstanding with Mexico over the use of the Colorado River—whose normal flow is already over-appropriated—a note be sent to Mexico warning against increased use within her borders of the waters of the Colorado.

The resolution further requested, in the interest of improved relations with Mexico and the promotion of the economic welfare of the States concerned, that a treaty regarding the use of Colorado River water be negotiated with Mexico, and that the federal commission having this international question under consideration be enlarged to include two representatives of the Colorado River basin States.

It became manifest in the discussions of the Denver Conference that to bring about Colorado River development free from litigation and controversy it was necessary not only to secure coöperation between the basin States and the federal Government and the approval of the Colorado River Compact by all the basin States, but it was equally essential to obtain an agreement, under the provisions of the Colorado River Compact, among Arizona, California, and Nevada. As the conference progressed it became evident that such supplementary compact should cover not only a division of the average amount of 7,500,000 acre feet of water turned down by the upper basin States for the use of the lower basin States, but should also provide for a distribution of power benefits to Arizona and Nevada for their contribution of natural resources in the production of power, largely to be used in the development of Southern California.

#### *Arizona's Proposals*

Arizona presented her position to the Conference in the following brief statement:

Item 1. That Arizona will accept the Colorado River Compact as agreed upon at Santa Fé, New Mexico, if and when the same is supplemented by a subsidiary compact which will make definite and certain the protection of Arizona's interests.

Item 2. That before regulation of the Colorado River is undertaken, Mexico be formally notified that this country reserves for use in the United States, water made available by storage within the United States.

Item 3. That any compact dividing the waters of the Colorado River and its tributaries shall not impair the rights of the States, under their respective water laws, to control the appropriation of water within their boundaries.

Item 4. That the waters of the tributary streams



**DRAINAGE AREA OF THE COLORADO BASIN**

Horizontal lines indicate what is known as the Upper Basin, and diagonal lines the Lower Basin. The region heavily shaded is in California.



of the Colorado River System, entering the river below Lee Ferry and which are inadequate to develop their own valleys, be reserved to the States in which they are located.

Item 5. That the water of the main Colorado River which is physically available in the lower basin (but without prejudice to the rights of the upper basin States) shall be legally available to and divided between Arizona, California, and Nevada, as follows: A. To Nevada, 300,000 acre feet. B. The remainder, after such deductions as may be made to care for Mexican lands, which may be allotted by treaty, shall be divided equally between Arizona and California.

Item 6. That the right of the States to secure revenue from and to control the development of hydro-electric power, within or upon their boundaries, be recognized.

Item 7. That encouragement will be given subject to the above conditions to either public or private development of the Colorado River at any site or sites, harmonizing with a comprehensive plan for the maximum development of the river's irrigational and power resources.

Item 8. That Arizona is prepared to enter into a compact at this time to settle all of the questions enumerated herein, or Arizona will agree to forego a settlement of Item 6 and 7, and make a compact dividing the water alone, provided it is specified in such compact that no power plants shall be installed in the lower basin portion of the main Colorado River, until the power question is settled by a compact between the States.

#### *The Lower States Differ*

California first suggested deferring adjustment and submitting the matter to arbitration, but when pressed by the Governors of the upper basin region for a definite statement presented the following suggestion for division of the water allocated under the Santa Fé Compact, without reference to distribution of power benefits:

1. To Arizona and Nevada their tributary waters, subject, however, to the condition that any tributary waters not used, and reaching the main stream, shall be deemed part of the main stream flow for the purposes of the agreement.

2. To Nevada, 300,000 acre feet per annum from the main stream.

3. To Arizona her present perfected rights to 233,800 acre feet per annum, and to California her present perfected rights to 2,159,000 acre feet per annum from the main stream; the balance of the water of the main stream below Lee Ferry, subject to the terms of the Colorado River Compact, to be divided equally between Arizona and California, subject however to the provision that any part of the allocation of either State not put to beneficial use in said State within twenty years shall thereafter be subject to appropriation and use in either State, pursuant to its laws.

Arizona bases its position on definite principles and rights involved in State sovereignty; the same principles upon which New York insists in controlling the use of the waters of the St. Lawrence River for the

benefit of its people. These rights on which Arizona insists are:

- A. The constitutional right to the use and disposal of the waters of the Colorado River as it flows through Arizona's borders.

- B. The ownership of the stream bed of the Colorado River within Arizona.

- C. The right to a revenue in lieu of taxation for the use of the fall of the huge flow of the Colorado, which fall within Arizona amounts to 2,369 feet.

- D. The right that no dam or dams wholly or partly in Arizona shall be constructed without the consent of the State.

Without unfairness to California, it may be here observed that the official records of stream measurements show that Arizona contributes over 17 per cent. of the total Colorado River water supply and California contributes no water except an insignificant amount at infrequent periods.

Arizona contains 45 per cent. of the drainage area of the Colorado, California less than 2 per cent. Of Arizona's total area 97 per cent. is in the drainage basin of the Colorado, which stream with its opportunities for development Arizona regards as her greatest natural resource.

#### *The Upper States Suggest a Compromise*

After reviewing the testimony offered by the lower basin States, the upper basin Governors united in presenting a proposal to them for settling their differences, which may be summarized as follows:

Of the average annual delivery of water to be supplied to the lower basin by the upper basin 300,000 acre feet to Nevada, 3,000,000 acre feet to Arizona, and 4,200,000 acre feet to California.

Arizona to have the exclusive, beneficial consumptive use of her tributaries before the same empty into the main stream.

Arizona and California each may divert and use one-half of the unappropriated waters of the main Colorado River flowing below Lee Ferry on the condition that the use of said waters between the States of the lower basin shall be without prejudice to the rights of the States of the upper basin to further apportionment of water as provided by the Colorado River Compact.

At the second session of the conference, Arizona accepted the upper Governors' proposal on water allocation. This acceptance was based on a complete agreement being reached during the conference, pro-

tecting Arizona in her right to receive power benefits, safeguarding the water of Arizona's tributary streams flowing into the Colorado, and protecting her from having her tributary water drafted for use in Mexico. That Arizona paid a great price for this coöperation is seen when we consider that she has an equal right with California to one-half of the stored flood water and that the Arizona lands to be reclaimed are as productive and feasible of reclamation as those of California.

California declined to accept the proposal of the upper basin Governors, insisting that to supply her essential water needs, including some 1,000,000 acre feet to be pumped over a 1600-foot mountain range to add to the supply of Los Angeles and the coastal plain districts, she must have a minimum of 4,600,000 acre feet or 61.3 per cent. of the allocated lower basin.

#### *Principles of State Rights*

Probably the outstanding feature of the conference to date has been the adoption of what is known as the Pittman Report, which clearly outlines the principle of State sovereignty and that coördination of State and federal rights on which this republic is built. Senator Pittman of Nevada introduced his resolution at the first session of the conference, protecting the States in their sovereign rights to the use of the water of interstate streams, subject only to the right of Congress to control navigation in the interest of interstate commerce. This important resolution, early in the second session, was referred to a committee of the conference composed of representative members from all the seven States. This committee, on September 23, 1927, made the following report:

The States have a legal right to demand and receive compensation for the use of their lands and waters except from the United States for the use of such lands and waters to regulate interstate and foreign commerce.

The State or States upon whose land a dam and reservoir is built by the United States Government, or whose waters are used in connection with a dam built by the United States Government to generate hydro-electric energy, are entitled to the preferred right to acquire the hydro-electric energy so generated or to acquire the use of such dam and reservoir for the generation of hydro-electric energy, upon undertaking to pay to the United States Government the charges that may be made for such hydro-electric energy or for the use of such dam and reservoir to amortize the Government investment, together with interest thereon, or in lieu thereof, agree upon any other method of compensation for the use of their waters.

While this report was not signed by California's representative nor voted upon by her representatives in the conference, it was otherwise unanimously adopted.

#### *When Congress Meets*

The sessions of the conference, to be continued late in November, have paved the way for united support of a new plan for Colorado River development for presentation to the approaching session of Congress, which includes the following features:

The advance of federal funds for the cost of construction when the Government is assured of sufficient income from power and water revenues to amortize the total cost in fifty years and pay all interest and operating charges during such period.

Recognition of the principle of State sovereignty over the use of land and water by a provision for payment of an annual revenue in lieu of taxation to the States contributing of their natural resources toward power production; this revenue to equal at least that which the State would receive in taxation if the development were made by private capital.

Removal of all possibility of the federal Government entering the power business but with opportunity given, as provided in the Federal Water Power Act, for public and private agencies to present offers for the power privileges.

The steadiness, determination, and good sense of the Governors of the upper basin States, who have acted as a neighborly board of mediation, have been admirable. They have held the negotiations to the consideration of vital principles, working to a constructive end, and are entitled to great credit for the fine spirit of justice shown.

On October 18 the directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, to whom this important matter was presented, decided that such excellent headway was being made by the Colorado River Conference that no action should be taken by the Chamber in this vital matter until the Colorado River Conference had exhausted every effort to adjust the situation.

On October 22 Governor George H. Dern of Utah, in a conference with President Coolidge, obtained from the President his expression of good will for the success of the work under way.

Unusual headway has already been made. The practicality of the plan of coöperation suggested is increasingly evident.

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# Shall We Dam the Colorado?

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BY F. H. NEWELL

(Former Chief, U. S. Reclamation Service)

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COLORADO RIVER is again coming to the front as a pressing interstate and international problem. The last Congress, the Sixty-ninth, in its closing days became involved in wordy warfare over the control of this river by building Boulder Dam. Zealous partisans would accept no compromise; as usual in free-for-all fights the real objects were obscured. The innocent bystander, the general public, suffered most. Necessary business operations of the Government for the fiscal year then approaching, vitally important appropriations, wholly unrelated to Colorado River problems, were held up. Hardships and even suffering came to innumerable citizens. All this has been the result of a Congressional filibuster over the proposed dam.

The affair illustrates the saying that in the West "water causes more fights than whisky."

What is it all about? The important points of the controversies do not seem to have been made clearer during the time since the Sixty-ninth Congress ended at noon on March 4. It was hoped that in this interval—before the Seventieth Congress assembles on December 5—the warring factions would get together and simplify the issues. Apparently they have not been able to do so. The great body of plain people, the taxpayers who must ultimately foot the bill in any miscarriage of plans, are wondering how it is that they must put up a hundred million dollars, or perhaps several hundred, for the benefit of property-owners in the land of sunshine, whose inhabitants are agreed that it is the most prosperous and progressive area in the United States! Why should the Vermont farmer, whose painful efforts are laughed at by his California cousin, be called upon for assistance?

To answer such questions we must have in mind certain elementary facts: First, that in the western two-fifths of the United

States land values are dependent upon water. There is plenty of vacant land "out West" capable of profitable cultivation if or when an artificial supply of water can be had to moisten it or make up for deficient rainfall. But water is scarce; it is estimated that if all the flood water should be stored and used for irrigation, there would not be enough to supply the needs of a tenth part of the dry lands.

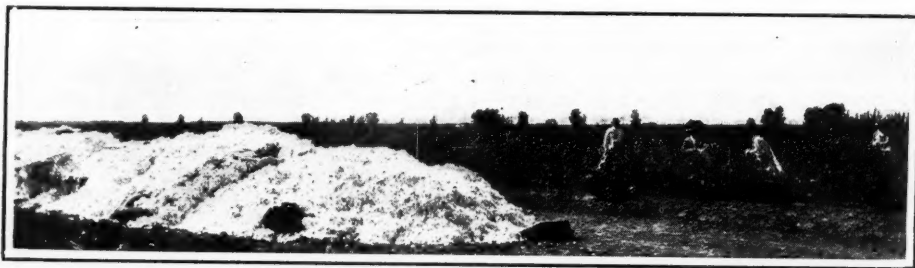
Another simple fact often overlooked is that where there is water—especially in torrential streams—there is mud; also, that much of the most fertile and irrigable land has been built up by the streams depositing this mud in their lower courses. The pioneer settler is naturally attracted by these low-lying areas along flood streams. He is tempted to establish his home and farm upon these lowlands which he knows are occasionally submerged. He hopes in a vague way that he can "get by" or that possibly the Government may protect him from the inevitable floods. He would rather take his chances on these lowlands than incur additional labor or expense such as may be necessary if he establishes himself above high water.

## *A Twofold Problem*

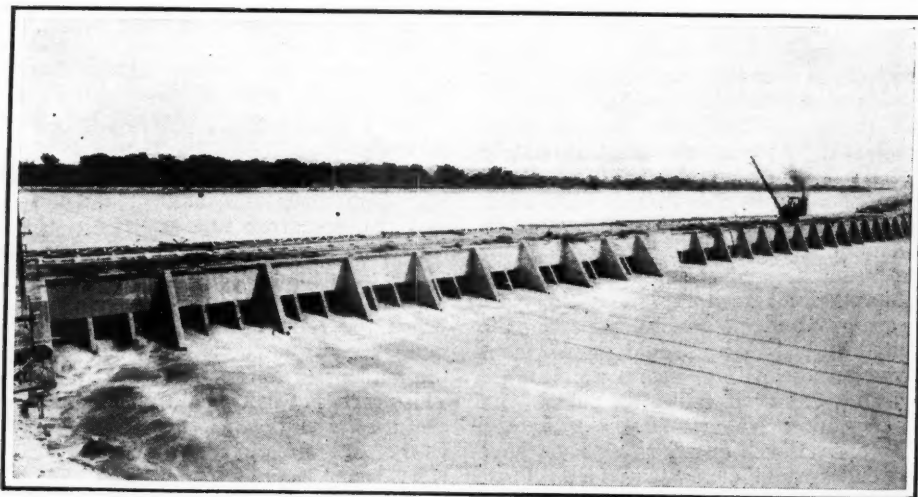
The Colorado River problem is one of flood waters and of mud. The river, made up of innumerable streams descending from high mountains, has cut and is still cutting deep narrow valleys. It is washing the debris toward the ocean and leaving it as fine silt or mud near the mouth, forming what is called the delta, on or through which the river flows. This is an enormous mud bank, added to each year by the millions of tons of fine sand and clay. This nearly flat delta, built up through the centuries, has been pushed out into the Gulf of California in such way as to cut off the extreme head of the gulf and leave on the right side of the river—in southern



IN THE FLOODED PALO VERDE VALLEY, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, WHICH WAS UNDER WATER FROM JUNE TO SEPTEMBER OF 1922



A COTTON-FIELD IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—THE IMPERIAL VALLEY—WHICH LIES 120 FEET BELOW SEA LEVEL



A FLOOD-GATE ON THE COLORADO RIVER, USED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST FLOODS



California—a depression, the bottom of which is 300 feet or more below sea level.

Originally this depression was full of sea water; the river shifting to one side has left it a shallow evaporation pan; the waters gradually disappearing there remained beds of salt in the bottom. Later in geologic time the river shifted toward the right or west side of the delta and filled the basin with fresh water. This is shown by the layers of shells marking alternations of salt, brackish, and fresh waters. The lesson to be impressed is that the Colorado River, throughout recent geologic history, has held this depression as a part of its playground in which occasionally to discharge its floods. At times, for no apparent reason, it has turned in another direction.

This great delta, made by the Colorado, is favored with semi-tropical sunlight inviting the rapid growth of vegetation. It is covered with an almost impenetrable jungle of weeds, willows, and cottonwoods. Into this jungle the river pours its yellow muddy waters. Trash and tree trunks brought down in flood obstruct the free flow. The stream forms islands, divides and subdivides into innumerable rivulets, and practically disappears; no continuous channel is preserved.

After traversing about twenty miles of this jungle, which acts as a filter to remove the mud, tiny streams appear; these unite to form a clear water river known as the Hardy Colorado, which, meandering in great loops, finally enters the Gulf.

#### *Farms and Cities below Sea Level*

This delta region with its jungle growth happens to be in Mexico. The reason why the international boundary was drawn where it is now located, is another story, and one which does not reflect much credit upon our foresight. The blunder, if it was one, remains to vex us and be a subject of controversy until such time as we can arrange to live in more perfect harmony with our Mexican neighbors. This peculiar condition at the mouth of the Colorado would have merely academic interest if it were not for the fact that restless pioneer Americans took it into their heads to try to utilize some land lying along the Mexican border and below river level and sea level.

When first discovered this area—known as Salton Sink, later named Imperial Valley—with its shrunk remnant of dead sea, was described as a trackless desert. At-

tempts to cross it sometimes met with fatal results, but the very difficulties and hardships offered a challenge. The ease with which water, under ordinary conditions of the river, could be taken from the Colorado through a portion of Mexico and along the south side of the international border into this desert land in the United States, tempted the bold promoters. Many of them lost all they had, even their lives; others succeeded. We now have homes, farms, towns, and even cities below sea level and threatened by incursions from flood waters. Each year increasing alarm is felt, and strenuous efforts are made to build works in Mexico to protect the lower lands in the United States.

Each year the river shifts and attacks a new point on these protective works in Mexico. It was confidently predicted that in 1927 the floods would again invade the valley. Up to the present these have been held off, but next year or the year after—or at the most, say, ten years from now—the efforts may be futile. When the floods do break over the Mexican dikes and flow down to Salton Sea it will gradually increase in area. In the course of months or years the rising waters may push out upon the cultivated lands and ultimately reach the settlements.

Take note, however, that in this situation there is little in common with the Mississippi River flood conditions or floods in other ordinary rivers. The Colorado, if it breaks through the defensive works in Mexico, can not spread out, but will cut a deep channel in soft soil, finding its way to Salton Sink, 300 feet below sea level. Weeks or months will elapse before this shallow bowl will receive enough water to cause the surface to rise to such height as will inundate valuable lands, years may elapse before the basin will be filled. Meantime, of course, dikes may be built forcing the river to flow again to the Gulf.

#### *A Little-Known but Powerful River*

This is only a part of the story. To understand other equally important demands made for control of the Colorado waters by Boulder Dam, we must look at it from another standpoint. We must again turn to our geography and get clearly in mind certain other facts.

Colorado, the word meaning *red*, is a rather common term in the Spanish-speaking country, including our own State of

Colorado. We have two large rivers named Colorado, as well as several notable Red rivers.' But our present interest attaches to what was known to the pioneers as the "Colorado River of the West" to distinguish it from the Colorado River of Texas, prominent in historical events leading to the war with Mexico. Austin, the capital of Texas, is on this smaller Colorado River. Not so very many years ago disastrous floods broke the Austin dam, resulted in frightful loss of life and destruction of property.

The Colorado River of the West, on the map, is one of our most prominent rivers. It receives water from seven States, its drainage area covers 244,000 square miles, or one-thirteenth of the land surface of the United States. The river itself is little known to the public. The country through which it flows in its middle course is almost impassable. For 500 miles a wheeled vehicle can approach this river at only three points; in a thousand miles there are only two or three bridges over which an auto can be driven. The cause lies in the fact that this part of North America has been rising through countless ages and is possibly still rising at a similar rate, but one too slow to be measurable during historic times.

From a geologic standpoint this rise of the land has been rapid. The Colorado River, with its tributaries, has been kept busy cutting down vertically; it has not had time to widen out the valleys as has been done in other parts of the continent. The river has been steadily at work sawing through and exposing the edges of 9,000 feet or more of the horizontally bedded rocks, cutting deeper and deeper, age after age, through sandstone, limestone, and granite. In this way have been formed that wonderful series of gorges known as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, visited each year by ever-increasing thousands of tourists.

Coming from the snow-clad mountains of Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado, the tributaries descend with rapid slope and soon lose themselves in these deep narrow valleys or gorges. Occasionally there are to be found places where the walls retreat and fairly level bottom lands occur. The soil of these areas is fertile; the region as a whole is arid, but if watered artificially these lands produce abundant crops under the influence of the brilliant sunshine unobscured by rain clouds.

In trying to paint a word picture of the country, superlatives fail. The English language needs still another degree, a hyper-superlative, to permit our western friends to express their emotions when trying to describe the stupendous canyons of the Colorado, the lofty mountains from which its waters come, the rapidity of flow, the deserts irrigated, the crops produced, and, near its end, the dangers to the cultivated Imperial Valley and towns below sea level if Salton Sink should be filled.

#### *Scenery—and the Engineer*

The engineer, finding mere words inadequate, must smother his emotions; his business is to survey the facts and critically weigh the data. He finds that every drop of water which may be stored will be needed some time in the development of hydro-electric power, or to irrigate arid lands. He sees opportunities for reservoirs in the mountains. He plans dams in the canyons higher than any as yet built. He proposes power plants of surpassing size. He figures on pumping water to unheard-of heights and in quantities for which there is no precedent, taking it over a mountain pass to aid in the continued growth of a city or group of cities whose rapid expansion holds a world record. Everything is superlative, with costs measured not in millions but in hundreds of millions of dollars.

Although the Colorado River of the West in cutting its great canyons has produced unsurpassed scenery, the river itself, as far as ordinary flow is concerned, is not notably great. The volume of water is not much larger than that of the Hudson or the Delaware, although it drains an area ten times as great. Most of this land has little value other than as scenery; its scanty rainfall, five or six inches on the low lands, results in extensive deserts. On the higher lands and mountain slopes the depth of precipitation increases up to twenty or thirty inches or more, making possible extensive grazing lands and tree-clad areas now included in National Forests.

Like all rivers of arid regions there is a wide fluctuation in quantity of flow. Ordinarily the discharge near the mouth is under 25,000 cubic feet per second. In floods this may be increased to 150,000 second-feet or three-quarters the flow over Niagara Falls; at low water it drops to 2,700 second-feet; this is less than the amount actually needed for the irrigation

of the adjacent lands dependent upon an artificial supply of water.

At places where the tributary streams come from the mountains are localities affording opportunities for reservoirs. Scores of these are known to exist; a few have been found economically desirable and storage dams have been built primarily for irrigation purposes but secondarily for generation of hydroelectric power as the waters are released for irrigation.

#### *Always the Demand for More Water*

The rapid fall through the gorges, and especially through the Grand Canyon, offers a challenge to the engineer. The rushing waters call upon him to develop their power wherever he can. There is no doubt that this is possible, but the question of marketing this power is still unsettled. At one time, following the explorations by Major John Wesley Powell in 1869, it was proposed to build a transcontinental railroad near the bottom of these canyons. Later the scheme was revived with the proposal to operate it by the water power developed along the line. More recently have come other tempting problems; among them those presented by the needs of southern California for more water and for more cheap power in a land where, excepting for the temporary abundance of petroleum, there is a scarcity of fuel.

The only large source of reasonably fresh water available for southern California is the Colorado River; even here the unregulated low water flow is all appropriated and more is needed. If, however, the floods are stored in the canyons, ample supply can be had, Imperial Valley can be protected, and power can be generated to lift this water on its way to Los Angeles, over a pass 1,700 feet above sea level. This is an unprecedented undertaking, yet one which is within the bounds of feasibility. Given enough money, a dam can be built, flood waters stored, hydroelectric power developed, and a portion of the water pushed over the mountain pass by pumps placed at intervals along the line.

Who is going to pay for it? Why should not Uncle Sam be the banker? He has a surplus in the Treasury. His engineers have built great works. There seems to be no reason why he should not construct and operate the dam and power plants and receive from Los Angeles and its neighbors a reasonable compensation for the benefits.

It will be a great aid to a rapidly growing part of the nation. The nation's money can thus be employed in creating works of value to thousands of its citizens and in increasing taxable wealth.

A proposition of this kind, however, to find popular favor must have some emotional appeal. The mere statement of costs and benefits does not arouse much enthusiasm in the mind of the ordinary taxpayer; his own locality might be similarly benefited, his representatives are apt to be lukewarm. But if this appeal can be given a humanitarian setting, then something may be done. Of all things the people of the United States love to play the part of the Good Samaritan. They adore the melodrama, with its helpless maiden in dire distress and the thrilling rescue at the critical moment by the rather tardy hero, snatching her from the remorseless villain. In this case the Colorado acts alternately as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde—in low water as Dr. Jekyll and in flood as Mr. Hyde, threatening to engulf the Imperial Valley. The helpless maiden is struggling against the oftentimes returning floods of the Colorado River—that is, in the embrace of the malevolent Mr. Hyde. The long-expected hero, who should dash madly to the rescue, after deliberative debate, is the Congress.

#### *Shall Uncle Sam Pay the Bill?*

Here, in this formerly inhospitable desert in which explorers or prospectors from time to time died of heat and lack of water (in some respects similar to Death Valley, but nearer the ocean) after almost incredible disappointments and hardships, homes have been established, towns built, and a population of perhaps 50,000 people established below sea level. If the Colorado River in flood breaks the artificial levees on the low banks in Mexico, and pours over the border into the deep basin in southern California, the Salton Sea will rise and in time encroach upon the surrounding lands. Here, then, is a real appealing reason. Let us not trust to dykes or levees but let the Government build a great storage reservoir in Boulder Canyon to hold the floods and incidentally to develop power, pump water for Los Angeles, reclaim additional lands, and, above all, protect Imperial Valley from the constant threat of floods which may cause the Salton Sea to rise in its basin-like depression.

It is confidentially asserted that the determining point as to whether Uncle Sam can or should build these great power works in the Colorado River canyon is the appeal for protection by the people of Imperial Valley against floods raising the surface of Salton Sea. Theoretically at least, and so stated in the proposed legislation, these great works are to be paid for in part by the people or cities benefited, but Congress has established the habit of annual relief measures for the benefit of landowners and other debtors of the Government under reclamation projects. Few experienced politicians believe that full payment will ultimately be insisted upon.

#### *Protective Works on Foreign Soil*

When the first flood broke the banks and poured down into Salton Sink, E. H. Harriman, when appealed to, questioned the wisdom of saving the Valley. He ordered the Southern Pacific tracks relocated above sea level. Finally he was induced to spend millions of dollars in building the protective works in Mexico. These for a time checked the flow into Salton Sea and encouraged the investment of many other millions. The feeling of insecurity, however, has never been completely removed; even if large reservoirs should be built on Colorado River, several hundred miles above the valley, there will always be fear of local floods coming from cloudbursts on the thousands of square miles of desert area below these dams.

A complication which adds to the general unrest is the fact that the defensive works for Imperial Valley must be built and forever maintained in a foreign country. The Mexicans are our neighbors; in time we must learn to get along with them, but generations of contact have not greatly promoted neighborly relations.

The Mexicans are naturally suspicious. They are not so very enthusiastic about our building and maintaining strong defensive works against the river on their soil. These, they fear, may be used as an entering wedge, leading to our taking possession of the country. The exercise of Mexican sovereignty is often vexatious to our people. At times it has been a cause of added expense and delay in maintaining the works necessary for protection of property in the United States. A solution may be that of

following the precedent at Panama—that is, of renting from the Mexicans, for an annual payment, the right-of-way for a canal and protective works in Mexico.

#### *Is There a Better Plan?*

Another question continually intrudes itself—whether, after all, the best and most economical solution has been proposed—that of a dam located at Boulder Canyon. It is true that a large amount of money has been expended on detailed surveys, but the engineers and economists are by no means agreed on this as against other sites. In fact, there exists the rather unfortunate feeling that the full facts have not been made available nor given proper weight. To meet this criticism a few distinguished gentlemen have been asked recently to review the subject once more and give their impartial opinion for use before the Seventieth Congress, as to whether the plan now proposed is the most feasible.

Taking everything into consideration, there is little doubt that Congress will be justified in authorizing the building of the Boulder Dam or some similar structure which will restrain the flood waters to a degree sufficient to prevent their breaking over the dikes in Mexico and thus getting into the Salton Sea. Such an occurrence, while not actually submerging valuable land for months or years, would have an immediate effect in destroying confidence in Imperial Valley. The security assured to the present landowners by the building of a storage dam will justify them in promising repayment, in part at least, of the money thus expended.

Less weight, perhaps, can be put upon the more dubious scheme for an all-American canal paralleling and north of the Mexican border, bringing more land under irrigation. There now are in this part of the country hundreds of thousands of acres of land provided with irrigation water. What is needed during the present generation is a better use of the lands for which water has already been provided at great cost.

Assuming that there is likely to be a surplus in the Treasury, there is probably no one of the many projects under consideration for investing this surplus which will yield better results in the long run than this somewhat complicated but interesting enterprise in southern California.



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# Our Friends the Germans and Japanese

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BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL

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SUPPOSE there were a chessboard—let us call it an international chessboard. Suppose that the players (skillful as experienced diplomats or Ministers for Foreign Affairs) had finished some highly important chess championship, such as the Congress at Versailles after the late War. Each player has been moving his pieces with all the forethought that accredited representatives of great nations must possess. Now that the play is finished perhaps each of them begins secretly to think of the reception awaiting him at home.

Will it be the enthusiastic acclaim that met Disraeli at Charing Cross Station on his return in 1878 from the Berlin Congress, after maneuvering the victorious Russians out of possession of Constantinople and other ports in Asia Minor detrimental to England's trade route to India via the Suez Canal? Or will it be the political disapproval that awaited President Wilson at home after putting through his pet policies at Versailles? Surely these are thoughts potent enough to absorb the attention of any chess-player after his game is concluded.

And now for the strangest "suppose" of all: Suppose that when these chess-players have withdrawn from the table, an even more astute player whom we may call the Logic of Events, restarts the movement of the chessmen—with new combinations and unexpected results.

For that is exactly what has been taking place (and for the good of the United States) since 1918 in the relations between our people and those of two other great nations, the Japanese and the Germans. With the latter we had been openly in combat. We had done our best to incapacitate as many Germans as possible, while they on their part had caused us losses in killed and wounded about equaling those sustained by the Japanese in their war

of 1905 with Russia. So much for our relations with the Germans in 1918.

As for the Japanese, we had been associated with them in the World War against Germany and her Allies. Nevertheless, somewhere in the background there constantly lurked the danger of a clash between Japan and the United States over certain Pacific Ocean questions, such as California's attitude toward Japanese immigration, the superabundant increase of Japanese in our Hawaiian Islands, the defense of the Philippines against an overcrowded island nation to the north, etc. In our eastern and Mississippi States one heard little of this war cloud on the western horizon, but along the Pacific Coast one could never forget it. Especially was it a constant subject of conjecture in Europe.

In 1921 the writer, while preparing a book ("Prime Ministers and Presidents") had the privilege of talking with fifteen Prime Ministers of European countries and all but three of them spoke quite naturally of the Japanese and the Negro problems as the two most serious ones confronting the great American Republic. One gathered that a war between Japan and ourselves was regarded by Europe as a sad necessity to be endured with resignation.

## *A Change in German Feeling*

That is the way our side of the two chess tables confronting Japan and Germany looked to the political champions of twelve out of fifteen European governments. Well, perhaps they were then right; we had just stopped fighting Germany, and European logic made us probable foes of Japan in the more or less near future.

Fortunately for us, the mysterious Logic of Events did not thus move the pieces on the two boards. Perhaps there are many of us who do not yet recognize that our greatest benefit from the war and since the war has

been this change in the trend of our relations with Japan and Germany.

The writer has recently spent two summer vacations motoring all over Germany and Austria. Everywhere, in every corner of that broad territory, did he find the same interest and friendliness for Americans that most of our travelers in these countries have noticed. Some persons explained this by Germany's interest in obtaining American capital. An American capitalist said to me recently: "We are lending German cities, States and businesses untold millions because we believe in betting on the industry and commercial capacity of the German people." It is certainly more reasonable and more profitable than firing high explosives at each other.

Surely here is a vast and happy change in the chessboard standing between Germany and ourselves. And this change was not effected by skillful chess-players from Foreign Offices moving the pieces. No! The mysteriously inexorable Logic of Events accomplished the gratifying miracle. An industrial nation impoverished by war, requiring capital for its manifold industries, has entered into new and friendly relations with a distant people seeking outlets for their great increase of natural wealth. Besides, Uncle Sam is by nature a friendly soul, God bless him! He is as willing to forget a war as to fight one. Of course the two Governments concerned have not opposed this new and striking spirit of good-will between Germany and America; far from it. But the Governments did not cause it—certainly not!

#### *Japan's Friendly Diplomats*

In the meantime, what about Japan, our supposedly obvious foe across the Pacific? In Yankee fashion let us answer the question by another: Could America find anything but satisfaction in the consistently helpful attitude of the Japanese delegation at the Washington Naval Conference of 1924?—the meeting was most difficult to conduct to an agreed issue, and for the outcome of it Americans can never sufficiently thank Charles Evans Hughes, our then Secretary of State. And again recently, at the futile Geneva Naval Conference, could Americans find anything to criticize in the consistently useful and friendly part played by the Japanese delegation? One of them, Viscount Ishii, recently Japanese Ambassador in Paris and long their representa-

tive at the League of Nations, had not only served as Ambassador in Washington but had also been Japan's Special Ambassador when we entered the war, sent to acquaint President Wilson and Secretary Lansing with Japan's intentions and aspirations as one of the Allied Powers whose cause we were joining.

As for Viscount Admiral Saïto, the other leading Japanese delegate, the writer has personal reasons for knowing his friendly attitude toward us, an attitude first evidenced as long ago as our brief War of 1898 with Spain. While spending the year of 1919 in visiting the Far East I had the pleasure of taking Thanksgiving dinner with him in Seoul, capital of Korea, where he was Japanese Governor-General. It was pleasingly strange to find turkey and cranberry sauce so far from home.

#### *An Instance Thirty Years Old*

Before his appointment to this important post Saïto had been a naval officer, and had risen to the rank of Admiral. After dinner he told me some interesting tales of his earlier days in the Navy, and here is one of considerable significance, proving how, even as a young man, he showed useful fair-mindedness toward Americans. In 1898 he commanded the *Akitsuushima*, a small Japanese cruiser which put into Manila Harbor just after Admiral Dewey's great victory. Admiral von Diedrich, the German, bent on making trouble for the Americans, sent his Flag Lieutenant, Von Hintze (years later Minister for Foreign Affairs), to persuade Saïto to join him in resisting Admiral Dewey's regulation (requiring an American officer to visit every incoming vessel even if a warship), on the ground that it was "visit and search," and as such illegal and improper. All cables were cut, so the Japanese Commander could not consult his Government in Tokyo. Saïto's considered reply to the German was that if he were in Admiral Dewey's place he would act just as he was acting, and that so far from joining in Von Diedrich's objection, he would accept an American officer's visit as an act of courtesy, and return it as such.

Now Saïto was the naval expert that Japan chose to represent her at the 1927 Naval Conference at Geneva. Can there be any doubt that he would be at least open-minded to the American point of view? He certainly proved himself so to be. Surely there are grounds for surmising that

certain episodes in Saïto's career, such as the one just cited, influenced his selection by his Government for service at Geneva.

Yes, the whole atmosphere around the Pacific has changed since 1918. The California trouble has died down, largely because the Japanese added to the famous 1907 "Gentleman's Agreement" (which voluntarily restricted emigration of Japanese men to America) a "Lady's Agreement" in 1919, stopping the sending out of so-called "picture brides" as wives for their laborers already in California. That had been one of the sorest points under dispute, because it not only added women laborers to the Japanese total already criticized, but also added children at a faster rate than in American families. This element of international friction was voluntarily eliminated by the Japanese Government.

There are two other factors which recently have been making for a better understanding between the Japanese people and ours. Both are economic. Firstly, Japanese trade with America has grown so that now we buy 40 per cent. of all her exports, and naturally she does not want to lose that valuable market. Secondly, Japan is placed alongside the Asian mainland, and understands the great and growing markets of that vast oriental territory better than any occidental nation. But the Japanese need capital to expand their trade in those

parts. Already several "fifty-fifty" arrangements have been made between Japanese companies and American capitalists, a combination which benefits both parties concerned. We need their key to the Asian markets and they need our capital.

One has heard a great deal about the "Open Door" in China, but after months spent in the Far East one comes away with the feeling that certain Side Doors are also important. If our capitalists want to participate in the commerce of the different "spheres of influence," the best way to penetrate Manchuria is by a "fifty-fifty" agreement with the Japanese who control the Side Door there, just as further south, we should coöperate with the French who control that Side Door.

The best and most enduring international deal is surely one that benefits both parties thereto, and such "fifty-fifty" agreements will secure for us more friends and more business in the Far East than many other policies urged by theorists who have never visited those lands, where business, customs, and habits of thought differ from ours.

Now let us come back to the two international chessboards, one set for us with Japan and the other with Germany, and conclude, and joyfully too, that the Logic of Events, by making for a better disposition of the pieces of both nations since 1918, has done a vast service for all.

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## Are Book-Worms to Be the Only College Men?

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BY ANDREW WRIGHT CRAWFORD

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THE raising of the standards for entrance into college and for remaining in college in America, is not an unmixed blessing, for colleges or country.

When, a short time ago my son decided not to go to college, although he had been admitted, I was much disturbed owing to the realization of the value of my eight years in the University of Pennsylvania, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Columbia Law School. In the midst of my difficulty, the head of one of the high

schools of Philadelphia happened to come to my office to invite me to make an address and, therefore, he had to listen to the tale of my difficulties. His answer raised serious general questions in my mind.

The principal said that in former days men in colleges and universities could be divided into thirds. The highest third consisted of men who were apt to become college professors, or to lead some other literary or intellectually cultural life; they were men who were to do vitally important

work in such pursuits for the nation. The lowest third were men who did not last.

There remained the middle third, upon whom the mass of the heavy fundamental work of the world would devolve. It was this middle third to whom the country could look for strong, solid achievement; for carrying on. The constructive, creative ability that so often seems to be burned out in the boys who attain the highest marks during their years in college, was left, in undiminished vigor, in the boys who composed the middle third. Now, he said to me, that middle third, as a rule, can not even get into college; and they certainly can not last more than a half-year or a year.

It is obviously unfortunate that this potentially powerful group are shut out from the cultural effects of college life, under the present régime obtaining in many universities. I well recollect the remark made by that able town-planner, the late Charles Mulford Robinson, when, on going through the dormitories and other buildings of the University of Pennsylvania, he said that a boy was bound to acquire culture if he stayed for four years in such a place, even if he did not indulge in over-much studying.

It will be a distinct disadvantage to the universities of the future in their financial campaigns not to have this old middle third of the class among their alumni, to whom to appeal for funds. I have the honor of membership in Phi Beta Kappa and, in a recent campaign for a very modest sum for that notable institution, I was struck by the high scholarship but very low pocket-books of the general membership of that learned society. I am well satisfied that if the present requirements for admission to and remaining in college had been in existence forty or fifty years ago, many of the great figures of Phi Beta Kappa would have had no chance for admission to it.

The professions of law and medicine are in a fair way to be sadly hit by the exclusion of this old middle third from undergraduate life. Some law schools are requiring the degree of Bachelor of Arts for admission to the study of law. Notwithstanding that I myself may be classed as a book-worm, I beg to remark that this means that those law schools propose hereafter to admit chiefly book-worms to their courses.

There is also a move to limit would-be doctors to the same class of book-worms. In this respect the raising of standards, resulting in shutting out the mediocre

student, promises serious results to the body politic, as well as to the professions.

I do not ignore the perplexing difficulty that institutions of higher learning are facing. The extraordinary prosperity of the United States is enabling a very much greater percentage of boys to apply for admission to college. This prosperity is reflected also in the heavily increased demands on Junior and Senior High Schools. In Philadelphia, when I was a boy, there was one high school. To-day, with a population only about double that of my boyhood, there are twelve high schools.

There should have been, not an increase in the standards of entrance requirements and of the standards of staying in after one enters, but a large increase in the number of colleges and universities. I believe that this increase will ultimately come either in the form of high schools, city colleges, or of these and many more private institutions combined.

Those colleges and universities that can open the door of opportunity to what I have called "the middle third" to enter, and stay, will become the colleges and universities to which the country will look for men to carry on, and the men of each of such institutions, in turn, will make their Alma Mater great.

In the present, it is important for the nation to consider whether the lawyers and doctors of the next generation are to be drawn only from the book-worm class, and whether, in a broader sense, it is wise to refuse the college hopes and aspirations of the mediocre student.

Knowledge is not a dangerous thing. Littleness of knowledge is dangerous, particularly if the possessor of that littleness of knowledge, whether a person or a nation, is rich. The wealthier a nation, the more imperative it is to increase the percentage of its citizens who are well educated.

No doubt someone will say that I am advocating a low standard for men who can do higher work; a low standard for the highest third of the older classes. Of course, I am not. More and more opportunities for men to do post-graduate work should be created. I have much admiration for many book-worms. I would increase the opportunities for us book-worms to do finer and finer work, but I would not adopt standards that eliminate from college life students who are none too good as students, but who are potentially the nation's greatest asset.



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# The Instalment Plan: A Study

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*THE form of consumers' credit known as instalment selling is not a new idea, but its widespread application in the last few years has transformed it into a major factor in industry and trade. So extensive has been the adoption of this instalment plan that it is now employed in the purchase of nearly five thousand million dollars' worth of goods in a single year. Its importance is all so recent, however, that the literature on the subject has hitherto been meager. A most comprehensive and authoritative survey of instalment selling now appears in book form, the result of a year's investigation and study by Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University.<sup>1</sup>*

*In the paragraphs which follow, the facts and conclusions set forth are those of Professor Seligman as found in that book, though the precise wording and arrangement are largely ours and not his.*—THE EDITOR.

**I**NSTALMENT selling invariably means credit granted to the purchaser of articles of consumption. Thus the buying of Liberty Bonds on a partial-payment plan, or the farmer's investment in agricultural machinery, both of which are productive, should not be confused with the wage-earner's purchase of his winter suit on time, or the newlyweds' housekeeping outfit bought with a dollar down.

The earliest application of instalment payments in America was by the furniture house of Cowperthwait, in New York, 120 years ago. Next came sewing-machines, pianos, and books. The list now includes washing machines and vacuum cleaners, phonographs and radios, gas stoves and refrigerators, jewelry and clothing, and greater in extent than all others combined, automobiles.

The origin of high-class instalment business was a legitimate desire of the dealer to augment his sales by enabling purchases to be made by those who could not afford to pay cash. It has been not only a profit-

able but a useful form of extending credit. By breaking up the payments it becomes possible to put high-priced durable goods into the immediate possession of consumers of moderate means. Instalment credit has thus brought nearer the ideal of the satisfaction of a want coming at the same time as the earning of the income; and in the bulk of modern transactions to which instalment selling is applied a considerable utility remains in the commodity after the final payment has been made.

In 1906 there were 107,000 passenger cars and trucks in the United States. Twenty years later there were more than 22,000,000. Every three days, now, the factories turn out as many automobiles as were produced in the entire year 1906, and the industry has become the greatest in the whole list—giving direct employment to more than three million persons.

How many of the three million and more passenger cars produced each year in this country could be sold if the buyers were required to have cash in hand? Records placed at the disposal of Professor Seligman by the General Motors Acceptance Corporation show that six out of every ten cars are sold on time.

Since the value of automobiles sold on the instalment plan is far greater than the combined worth of all other articles thus sold, it is natural that the book before us should be devoted especially to the problem of automobile credit. At any given moment there are in existence more than a billion dollars' worth of purchasers' promises to pay for cars that their neighbors think they own.

Obviously the small local automobile agent (who is required to pay cash to the manufacturer) can not allow his customers a year in which to complete payment to him, even though the furniture store and sewing-machine maker have welcomed such business for scores of years. He can borrow money at his bank upon goods in his display room, but when a car passes to a consumer the bank no longer desires to carry the risk. A new form of credit mechanism became

<sup>1</sup> "The Economics of Instalment Selling: A Study in Consumers' Credit." By Edwin R. A. Seligman. Harper and Brothers. Vol. I, 350 pp. Vol. II, Appendices. \$4 each.

necessary with the expanding use of instalment selling and the so-called credit company or finance corporation was evolved.

This was only twelve years ago, although isolated instances of the borrowing of money upon instalment accounts receivable appear to have been in operation in the book business and the canning industry and by a wagon merchant for a decade earlier. By 1917 there were half a dozen finance companies, and the number has grown to sixteen or seventeen hundred, although 90 per cent. of the business is still handled by a very few of the older and larger companies.

The General Motors Corporation saw the possibilities of increasing sales by development of the instalment method, and formed a separate acceptance corporation early in 1919. By the end of 1926 it had a capital, surplus, and undivided profits of more than \$36,000,000 and a volume of financing in excess of \$631,000,000. Not at all bad for an infant eight years old.

Standard practice calls for a down payment of one-third on new cars with the remainder due in twelve monthly instalments, secured by a series of promissory notes which the dealer then sells to a finance company. In case of failure the purchaser forfeits the entire amount paid and the dealer or the finance company sets in motion legal machinery to repossess the car. In most cases the dealer has been required to endorse the customer's notes and therefore he must reimburse the finance company for the amount in default.

Since the finance company must set up a reserve against dishonesty and incapacity of the purchaser, and against loss by fire and theft, as well as earn interest on money loaned, it is clear that the instalment buyer must pay a considerable financing charge.

This charge, in a typical instance cited by Professor Seligman, was \$84 on a \$1500 car. But in this case the down payment was \$564, so that the purchaser paid his \$84 (less \$13.20, which represented insurance, or actually \$70.80) for the privilege of borrowing \$936. It should be remembered that only one-twelfth, or \$78, was borrowed for a full year, \$78 for eleven months, \$78 for ten months, and so on down to the note for a similar amount due at the end of the first month. Thus it happens that the man who enlisted the aid of a finance com-

pany to buy that automobile paid approximately 14 per cent. on the money he borrowed.

Where a down payment of one-third has been made the experience tables show that one and three-quarter per cent. of the cars come back to the dealer, or about one out of fifty-seven. If the terms are more liberal the percentage of failure is always greater. With a down payment of one-fourth, for example, instead of a third, more than twice as many cars come back to the dealer. Here the fundamental problem of instalment selling discloses itself: the danger of abuse through the grant of too liberal terms.

So far as concerns the probability of payment, Professor Seligman's study leads him to believe that it is difficult to distinguish between loans to consumers and loans to business enterprises. Also the amount of consumers' credit, though large in itself (there being more than two billion dollars' worth of instalment paper outstanding at any time), is insignificant in comparison to credit extended in the production and marketing of the entire mass of consumers' goods. Instalment credit is not more dangerous, he holds, than ordinary forms of credit.

Some of Professor Seligman's conclusions may be stated as follows:

Instalment credit tends on the whole to strengthen the motives which induce an individual to save, and also tends to increase his capacity to do so.

Instalment selling, instead of simply advancing the time when demand becomes effective, really leads to an increase of purchasing power.

While instalment selling undoubtedly increases the cost, this disadvantage is probably on the whole outweighed by the corresponding advantages.

The device of fractional payments results in an actual increase of production.

Dangerous effects on the credit structure have been exaggerated, and instalment credit under proper conditions is not open to the charges so often preferred against it.

Instalment selling has come to stay. Some abuses and perils have crept in. Experience will teach us, and outworn methods will be discarded, though new abuses will undoubtedly appear.

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# Leading Articles

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War ~ National Affairs ~ Colleges ~ Science

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## The Other Side of Disarmament

PACIFISTS who assert that war costs us 86 per cent. of all national expenditures, and that reduction of the present budget for things military would prevent future wars, do not know what they are talking about, in the opinion of Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis.

National defense is the best investment that the nation can make, he says in the *Magazine of Wall Street*. Statements of those who think otherwise are definitely, perhaps wilfully, misleading. The present size and wealth of the United States (a wealth ten times as great as the cost of all the wars that the United States has ever waged) are due to wars and the armies and navies who fought them. The future peace and security of the country rest also upon our army and navy, and general military preparedness. "It seems to me childish," says Mr. Davis, "to imagine that we would have peace and our present security if we were disarmed."

"As to the implication that the army and navy are in any way chargeable with the past wars that our pacifist friends wish to load them up with, I would ask whether there is any reasonable man or woman in the United States who really believes that our military organizations ever brought upon us a single war?"

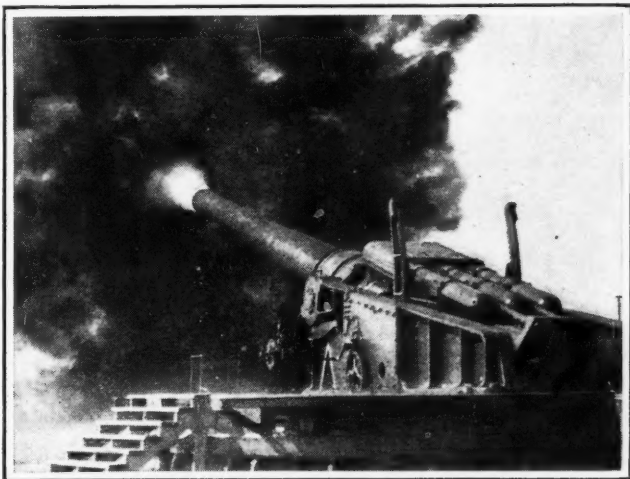
Our forces are no more accountable for war than our police officers are accountable for crime. Their part is to end, not to bring on war, and they should therefore not be blamed, but credited with the results of the wars they have fought at the Government's command. To begin with, thinks Mr. Davis, colonization of this country

was accomplished primarily with the sword. Later, the sword decided whether the culture of the country should be English or French.

Remember we owe our independence to the soldiers of the Revolution; it cost \$50,000,000; was it not worth it? The War of 1812 brought us, among other benefits, the rich territories of the South and West, which have paid many times for the cost of that war. The conflict with Mexico also brought us lands without which the United States would not be what it is to-day. And certainly it was worth three billion dollars, the cost of the Civil War, to maintain the unity of the Republic.

Then, there was not a year and scarcely a month, until 1886, that our army was not in some skirmish with Indians.

Had we spent a billion dollars getting our army ready for eventualities after the world caught fire in 1914, the World War would have cost us far less than the \$34,000,000,000 that it did—the price of haste, inefficiency, unpreparedness. Moreover, had we been adequately prepared, Germany who, as it was, spent two years of effort trying to get us into the war, might have been at some pains never to have us enter the war at all.



SHOOTING THIRTY MILES OUT TO SEA

Our largest gun for seacoast defense, now at the proving grounds, Aberdeen, Md.

"All too little have we used our military forces as preventative, all too much as surgical treatment. . . . Is \$600,000,000 a year too high for some measure of preparedness, of insurance for a national wealth that approaches \$400,000,000,000?"

## A Fighter Speaks

FROM Lincoln, England, comes the story of Field Marshal Sir William Robertson, who made a speech. Sir William has been fifty years a soldier; he was severely wounded as a young captain, and during most of the Great War he was Chief of the British Imperial General Staff. This veteran fighter, who holds among his many decorations the Distinguished Service Medal of the United States, denounced modern war as utterly futile, a mere horror, and called the plea for large fighting forces an out-of-date platitude:

"Instead of preventing war, we know that preparations are likely to precipitate it," he said. "Never in history were preparations so complete or so widespread as in the fifty or sixty years previous to 1914. And yet never were wars so frequent as during that period." Sir William pointed out that a few hours' artillery bombardment preparing for one infantry advance in France had cost \$110,000,000, and went on:

"Human nature be wicked as it may, I suggest that every man and woman should energetically support all efforts made to devise some more sensible and humane way of composing international differences than the destructive and futile methods of the past.

"It is at least more in accordance with the prevailing sentiment than the out-of-date platitudes urging the necessity of maintaining strong fighting forces."

## Who Started the War?

FROM the battlefield of Tannenberg in East Prussia rises an octagonal, fortress-like structure of thick walls, topped at each corner by a majestic tower. It is surrounded by graves of German and Russian war dead. According to one of its architects, its formidable appearance symbolizes East Prussia as a German outpost jutting into Slav territory.

Into this rugged structure came Paul L. H. A. von Beneckendorff und von Hindenburg,

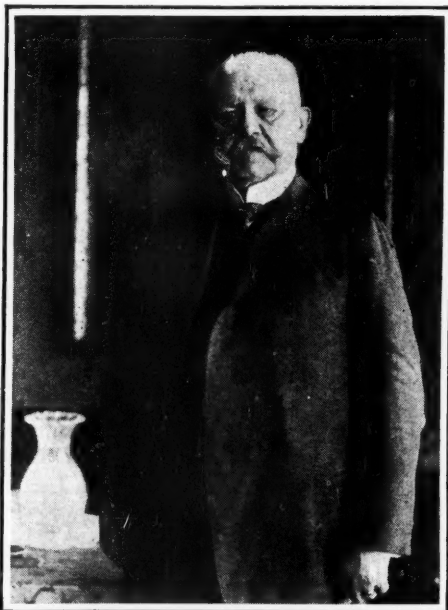
former Field Marshal, now President, of Germany. He had come to dedicate it as a memorial to the German war dead of Tannenberg; and to the assembled multitude he said:

"The national monument of Tannenberg serves first of all as a memorial to those who fell fighting to free their country. The memory of them, and the honor of my comrades who still live, lay on me the duty at this hour and on this spot solemnly to declare:

"As one man all classes of the German nation repudiate the charge that Germany is responsible for this

greatest of all wars. Not envy, nor hate, nor lust for conquest put the sword into our hand. Rather the war was the extreme means, calling for the greatest sacrifices from all the people, to which we resorted to maintain ourselves against a world of enemies. With a clean heart we marched forth to defend the Fatherland, and with clean hands we held the sword. Germany stands always ready to prove this before impartial judges."

This excerpt from Hindenburg's speech, which is taken from the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, was hailed by all Germany, though some questioned the advisability of once again raising the



PRESIDENT VON HINDENBURG OF GERMANY





THE WAR MEMORIAL AT TANNENBERG, EAST PRUSSIA

problem of war guilt. It took on importance because it was the first time that Hindenburg, whose fame as President of the Republic surpasses his glory as soldier of the former Empire, uttered this common German sentiment. Across the Rhine in France, as in all Allied countries, it set loose a series of extremely violent explosions of feeling. It gave new life to the wearying discussion:

"You did."

"I didn't."

"You did!"

"I didn't!"

Meanwhile historians go on with their work of uncovering, bit by bit, the complicated story of how the war began. So far their work tends to show that the guilty party was not any single nation, but an international system that permitted Europe to divide into two suspicious armed camps.

## *The Last Flight of Baron Richthofen*

ON THE morning of April 21, 1918, two young men rolled out of their wartime bunks in France and took a look at the weather. The two bunks were about twenty miles apart, and in that twenty miles thousands of men, comprising units of the Allied and German armies, were fighting.

One of the young men was a Canadian, Roy Brown, twenty-four years old and a pursuit pilot of the Royal Air Force. The other was twenty-five-year-old Baron Manfred von Richthofen, Germany's deadliest ace, who had

celebrated his eightieth air victory the night before.

Staffel Eleven, his squadron, left the ground at about half-past ten that morning, in two groups of five planes. Richthofen led the first group. Over the village of Hamel, not far from the Somme River, Richthofen's squadron of bright red Fokker triplanes, the crack fighters of Germany's air force, saw below them two Australian observation planes photographing the German lines. The red Fokkers dived for them.

Meanwhile Brown, the Canadian, in command of ten British pursuit planes, had climbed to a height of 15,000 feet in the same region. Two miles below him he saw the Fokkers, now fighting with the slow Australian planes. Brown wagged the wings of his plane as a signal to his squadron, which dived down those two miles through the air close behind their leader.

With the wind screaming through every strut and bracing wire, Brown pulled his phalanx out of the dive a bare thousand feet above the German planes, which had been joined by other Fokkers and Albatrosses until their strength was about twenty. Brown and his fellow pilots now dived for the fray, and there began what aviators call a dog fight—a whirling, scrambled mix-up of many planes flying round in cyclonic circles, bent on destruction.

Eight of Brown's squadron plunged into the mêlée, with guns firing and motors roaring. There was no order of battle—only thirty air-planes rolling, diving, turning, circling, banking, and firing bursts of bullets from their machine guns each time an opponent flashed across the sights of those guns. Somewhere

out of the scramble, close to the ground now, flew a British Camel pursuit plane piloted by Lieut. W. R. May, another Canadian. A newcomer to the front, he had been told to streak for home in the event of such a mix-up.

Flying above and behind May came a red Fokker in pursuit. Its nose was within thirty yards of the fleeing Camel. May, looking over his shoulder, saw the openwork air-cooling casings of two machine-gun barrels pointing down on him. Between the butt ends of the guns was just visible, down as far as a pair of dark glass goggles, a leather-helmeted head.

The young Canadian darted to one side, and darted back, resorting to all the stunts he knew; but the red triplane's pilot followed each turn, keeping the nose of his machine pointed at the Canadian, and firing every now and then. Bullets snapped through the air close to May. Splinters flew from the struts of his plane.

Meanwhile the more experienced Canadian, Brown, had seen May's plight and dived for the pursuing Fokker. He got slightly above and behind the German flier, and started firing. Smoke from his tracer bullets showed his shots to be going into the tail of the Fokker. He raised the nose of his plane, and the bullets came closer to the enemy pilot ahead, who, his guns trained on May, had been unaware of his peril. A second later bullets came into the cockpit where he sat. His Fokker faltered, and glided earthward; it hit the uneven ground, bumped, and rolled on, losing one wheel. It stopped right side up in a shell hole.

When, later, Australian gunners on the ground had a chance to examine its dead pilot, they looked at his identification papers with amazement. One of them shouted the news to a neighboring trench: "Cripes, they got the bloody Baron!" he said.

This account is summarized from one of a series of articles on Richthofen's career, which have been prepared from authentic sources by Floyd Gibbons, and published in *Liberty*.

## Uncle Sam, Knight-Errant

THE United States is imperialistic, and what is worse, it is hypocritical about it, says William J. McNally, an American. It has become the most powerful nation in the world by imperialistic practices, while shouting anti-imperialistic principles. Its occasional moods of knight-errantry have usually been abandoned in the middle, making trouble for all.

Diomedes Pereyra, a South American, maintains that the United States is not imperialistic.

Its expansion has been purely defensive, and strictly in keeping with the "manifest destiny" of the United States in the Western hemisphere. But its unmistakable refusal to adopt an imperialistic policy has seemed so unbelievable to an imperialistic-minded world that obviously innocent acts—such as intervention in Nicaragua—are misinterpreted.

Such, in brief, are the two sides of a debate in the December *Forum*, in which the South American takes the side least expected of him. Mr. McNally's argument runs as follows:

Just as the Victorian lady ignored the existence

of her legs or spoke of them by a more delicate name, so the American avoids the idea and the term "imperialism." He comes by his prejudice honestly enough. The Revolution was fought and the Declaration of Independence framed to show just how strongly anti-imperialistic the American people were. But a dispassionate survey of the American record in foreign affairs shows a consistently imperialistic policy, although the country seemingly believes itself to have been consistently the knight-errant.

Knight-errant Uncle Sam may have been when he entered the Mexican War, but he came out of it with the far-flung territories of the West; or the Spanish-American War, but he came out owning Guam, Porto Rico, the



MANFRED VON RICHTHOFEN



#### HAS UNCLE SAM BECOME AN EMPEROR?

Decoration by Rollin Kirby, in "Men of Destiny," by Walter Lippmann.

Philippines and Cuba, all the time protesting that he was going to give them back, and creating resentment against himself when he did not. Knight-errant he may have been when he entered the World War, but three years later he was ready to stone the President who took his chivalry too seriously.

Though ashamed of its imperialism and proud of its knight-errantry, the United States has made far less trouble for itself and for others with outright imperialism than with hypocritical imperialism. It makes the world angry to have to be a party to the self-deception of the United States in this matter of its pure-heartedness. "Open imperialism openly arrived at" would make far fewer enemies than idealism grandiloquently stated and then suddenly abandoned.

"A true non-imperialism would require of the United States a complete abandonment of both neo-Monroeism and dollar-and-national protectionism abroad. And that American opinion would ever sanction such a program of renunciation is scarcely conceivable."

Now for Mr. Pereyra's side of the case:

It is absurd to consider America imperialistic, much less hypocritical, says he. Expansion, such as that following the Mexican War, when territories comprising Texas, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming were added to the United States, is entirely different from, for example, the partition of Africa by England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal, the dominance of India by Great

Britain, or the battle for concessions in China. The one was defensive, logical expansion, completing the geographical independence of the United States. The others are offensive imperialism, not inevitable, logical, or necessary, the seizure for gain of territories that are actually liabilities, not assets, from the point of view of defense.

No better example of non-imperialistic American policy can be found than the unconditional entrance of the United States into the World War. Her participation had been solicited at any price. She had the opportunity to obtain for the asking possessions wherever she would have wished. Yet she did not.

"The fact is, the United States pursues a moral end difficult for the world to understand because it is so far from the current practice in international relations. . . .

"How then could any one try to give a hypocritical aspect to this policy of strict amity and disinterestedness of the United States which, through all the frequent changes of men and opinions, remains unchanged? . . . Already Chile and Peru, acknowledging this, have made her the arbiter of their dispute over Tacna and Arica, and the other republics entrust her with the building of their railroads and numberless enterprises which more and more increase their power, soon to attain



#### A FRENCH VIEW

The *Petit Provençal* of Marseilles pictures Uncle Sam as helping himself to Latin America.

fantastic proportions. This fact proves a reciprocal confidence of which not enough is being said, and proves, moreover, that the interest of North America has been definitely directed toward continental coöperation and understanding."

## Farm Relief That May Come True

THERE is small comfort for the farmer in most plans made for him. He and the rest of the country are a little tired of analyses of farm problems that improve the situation not one whit, and of farm relief proposals that never get anywhere. But lately hope for definite and intelligent action by the new Congress has been revived.

William M. Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture, has a farm relief plan that is the product of careful research, and is considered workable by many. In the *Oklahoma Stockman and Farmer* he outlines it:

Agricultural legislation, both Federal and State, is necessary as an aid in minimizing fluctuations in the price of farm products, and in adjusting production to demand. Farm relief should begin by federating local farm co-operative organizations into regional and national groups. They have already begun their work well, and as the "infant industries" of agriculture they should receive the protection and aid of the nation.

Then establish a Farm Board, consisting of able men who understand the problems of agriculture, says Secretary Jardine. Back it up with an adequate statistical service that could gather timely information about supply and demand factors affecting the production and marketing of each chief agricultural commodity. Back it up also with a revolving fund such as those behind the Federal Farm Loan and the Federal Reserve system in their infancies.

The duties of the Farm Board would be primarily two—to aid in minimizing price fluctuations due to unprevent-

able surpluses, and to adjust production to market demand. In addition, the board would help the business organization of agriculture in every possible way.

A stabilization corporation would be established for each major commodity, with a nominal capital stock owned by the commodity coöperatives. When an exceptional season resulted in crop surplus and a consequent fall in commodity prices, the stabilization corporation, under guidance of the Farm Board and using funds granted by it, would take part of that surplus off the market to prevent the price from dropping.

For example, the 1926 cotton crop was 18,000,000 bales. This was more than 5,000,000 bales above the average of the preceding three years. Nearly 61 per cent. of this bumper crop was marketed all at once, with the result that the price fell from 16 to 10 cents per pound. Had some of the farmers waited until later in the year to sell, the price would not have fallen so fast or so far. But the farmers could not wait. Their creditors demanded payment.

Now supposing the cotton stabilization corporation had been in existence. The corporation, on the basis of statistical evidence as to the maximum price it could pay for cotton without risk of losing money, would have bought in the open market in order that the market price should not go below the conservatively established minimum.

Last year, says Secretary Jardine, the corporation might perhaps have had to buy 3,000,000 bales in order to keep the price at or about

15 cents a pound. For each drop in price of one cent per pound during those months of falling prices, the loss to the cotton farmers was \$55,000,000.

These 3,000,000 bales bought by the stabilization corporation would have been paid for largely by borrowing from the Intermediate Credit Banks, since the cotton was to be stored in federally bonded warehouses. The remaining 25 or 30 per cent. would come, through the Farm Board, out of the revolving fund.

This loan from the fund is by no means "a raid on the Treasury," a "shameless sub-



WILLIAM M. JARDINE





A GROUP OF AMERICA'S UNINVITED GUESTS

Immigrants who entered the country illegally, many of them via the Canadian border, held pending deportation at a jail in Atlanta, Georgia.

sidy" as charged by opponents of farm legislation. Sale of the 3,000,000 bales, gradually, later on (when the price reached 20 cents a pound) so as not to disturb the market unduly, would net not only the borrowed sum, but a substantial profit which would go to pay interest and storage charges, provide a sinking fund and a dividend to the coöperatives, to boot. Some years there would be losses, of course, but these could be paid out of the sinking fund.

The second duty of the Farm Board, adjustment of production to demand, would be taken care of partly by stabilizing prices, which would automatically tend to stabilize acreage. "Approximately 88 per cent. of the variation in cotton acreage is due to price in the year before," says Secretary Jardine. "And greater stability of acreage will, in turn, help to stabilize price. The stabilization corporation would also urge the farmer to reduce or expand acreage according to market prospects.

"I should also like to see it possible to advance to members of the coöperatives a greater part of the price of their product as soon as it is turned over to the coöperatives. At present many farmers have to remain outside these organizations because they can not wait for any part of the price of their product.

"Future prosperity in farming depends to a large degree on the growth of strong business institutions to afford agriculture a bargaining power comparable to that of labor and industry," concludes Secretary Jardine.

## Immigrants by the Million

WHEN Americans realized that immigrants were flocking into the country at the rate of six and a half million in six years, they were appalled. To protect the American stock and the American standard of living, they passed immigration restriction laws, authorized a border patrol to prevent the bootlegging of aliens, and then sat back contentedly, secure in the feeling that everything necessary had been done.

Six years have now passed. Supposedly, no more than 164,000 aliens have entered the country each year—that is, two per cent. of the foreign born residing in the United States when the census of 1890 was made. Yet somehow, in those six years, our total net gain in alien population has been about 3,000,000, which is nearly what it was before the quota. For in those days, if 6,000,000 came in in six years, almost half as many went out. What is the answer?

Aliens numbering 3,477,755 have been admitted lawfully since 1921, including non-quota Mexicans and Canadians. In this period 1,469,468 have left the country. This leaves a net immigration of 2,008,287. To this the most conservative estimate adds another million surreptitious entries, which brings the total net gain in population back again to more

than three million. This leaves the saving accomplishment in six years of our boasted policy of restriction at less than half a million.

It is obviously the illegal entries which nullify efforts at immigration restriction. They come through Cuba and are smuggled into Florida. They come as seamen and desert by thousands when given shore leave. They come across the Canadian and Mexican borders, enriching the ingenious bootlegger by paying from \$50 to \$1,000 each to be guided safely into the United States. The border patrol of 800 men is helpless before their invasion.

Moreover, the increase in our alien population is not largely Nordic and therefore easily assimilable, as we believed it would be under the quota. Nordics do predominate among those admitted under the quotas, but a net gain of 350,000 Mexicans has also been made—a figure exceeding that for any other ethnological group—since Mexicans and Canadians are exempted from quota restrictions, and, to enter the United States legally, have only to pass literacy, moral and health examinations. Mexicans who cannot pass these tests are also smuggled in by the thousand. One deduction to be drawn is that the United States has traded Italy for Mexico as a source of immigrant labor.

The Commissioner-General of Immigration points out that the smuggled aliens "can never be naturalized for the reason that they cannot produce certificates of their legal entry. It is a menace to national safety to have so vast a number of politically ostracized aliens allocating themselves in the social and industrial life of the country."

When Congress considers the immigration question this session, as it must, pending the enactment of a permanent law, enforcement of our restrictions will be one of its most important and baffling questions.

The facts and conclusions detailed above are those of Remsen Crawford, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

## Going Up in Smoke

THERE are 500,000 tobacco stores in the United States, but only 2,500 book stores. Evidently the pipe and the book no longer dwell together. The nervous cigarette has

taken the place of the tranquil pipe and even of the dreamy cigar. Sales of pipe tobacco and cigars fall steadily, while the cigarette is making hundreds of millions for owners of tobacco securities.

Tobacco shops pay enormous rentals for corners in cities and towns where the inhabitants congregate. One store, for example, pays \$27,000 a year for a little nook, because 350,000 persons are said to pass daily before its doors.

The cigarette has become so much a part of the American face that advertising and magazine artists seldom picture a man without a cigarette between his fingers or lips. It has invaded the Orient. Hundreds of millions of cigarettes go to China, which has produced its own smoking things for thousands of years.

There are doubts as to how much the raising of tobacco benefits the farmer. Tobacco exhausts the soil and requires the use of expensive fertilizer. It fluctuates almost as much as cotton in price. Tobacco farmers are, for the most part, getting the barest living from their crop.

This information is presented by Mr. Don C. Seitz in the *Churchman*.

## Big Bill

WHO is this Big Bill Thompson of Chicago, who likes to be called "Big Bill the Builder," who threatened to burn books in Chicago's public library, who promised in his election campaign to ignore Prohibition, who called one of the country's foremost educators "the stool-pigeon of King George," who descended on Washington with a trainload of old-fashioned political henchmen, and who had breakfast at the White House?

He is more than Mayor of Chicago. For the moment he is a national figure—a ridiculous figure, perhaps, but one who holds Chicago's politics in the hollow of his hand.

A mass of material has been written about him. A common appraisal is that he is a political windbag who spreads abroad his oratorical humbug because it is good for votes. Others believe that he knows better, and is not to be taken seriously. Both these conclusions, however, have been challenged.

Victor S. Yarros, of the *Chicago Daily News*, says in the *Independent* that "he is perfectly sincere. He is never wilfully untruthful or

unfair. The monstrous and silly charges that he makes, he really believes in, being incapable of real thought."

Hendrik Willem Van Loon, author of "The Story of Mankind," argues in a letter to a New York newspaper that Thompson is no fool, but rather "the most dangerous candidate for the Presidency who thus far has appeared upon the horizon."

Thompson, who was born in Boston, went West as a lad of fourteen, and came back seven years later to take charge of a considerable family fortune. In 1900, at thirty-one, he became an Alderman, and has been in municipal politics ever since. He was elected Mayor in 1915, and according to Mr. Yarros, his administration was noteworthy chiefly for its corruption and disregard for public opinion. Yet by demagoguery, by appealing to "prejudice, hate, malice, and stupidity," he got himself reelected, and "the second Thompson administration was even more inefficient and wasteful than the first." There were scandals, and in 1923 Thompson was discreet enough to retire.

Last April he had a new chance, when it became evident that the then Mayor Dever could not be elected again. To the surprise of the better elements in Chicago, Thompson rode into office on a wave of wide-open-city, Negro, and anti-British enthusiasm.

Mr. Van Loon thinks that the lion-tail twisting is not to be taken seriously. Thompson's strength is menacing because he is accepted as the avenger of the vast body of first and second generation Americans of the Middle West who came here because they wanted to get away from Europe, and who are resentful that the East led them into the war and through it into an artificial enthusiasm for England and France. Mr. Van Loon reports discovering this sentiment very forceful in Chicago.

A somewhat similar idea is held by the New York *World*, which compares the element behind Thompson to the Ku Klux Klan: "It may be a fair guess to say that the Klan ex-



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#### CHICAGO

Officer: "What have you there?"

Gunman: "Nothing but booze."

Officer: "Oh, I beg pardon. I thought it was history books."

presses the hysteria of the lower-grade mentalities in the old American stock and that this anti-Britishism expresses the hysteria of the lower-grade mentalities in the newer American stocks. The Klan is inspired by the notion that a 100 per cent. American is a descendant of those pioneers who originally came from Great Britain. The Thompson crusade seems to be the obverse of this: its notion is that nobody is a 100 per cent. American who maintains any connection with the old British tradition."

### Black Balloting

A GEORGIA Negro who wanted to vote presented himself to be enrolled on the registration lists. The registration official reached for a book, and read a section of Georgia's State constitution. "Tell me what that means, and I will register you," he said.

"Boss, it means jus' this," the Negro replied. "This nigger ain't goin' to vote."

The impression is widespread in the North that most Southern States have managed, by one device or another, to deprive the Negro of the ballot guaranteed him by the Fifteenth Amendment. The impression is false, says George Fort Milton, a Southerner, writing in the December *Forum*. A new attitude toward the Negro vote is awakening in the South, he adds—a growing willingness to see that educated Negroes of good character vote.

Yet he admits that the purpose underlying all suffrage laws adopted by Southern States is to maintain white supremacy at the polls.

"Legally the Negro is not debarred from voting; practically, however, he is debarred very effectively." Poll taxes, educational qualifications, property qualifications—similar in kind to regulations existing in Northern States, but more severe in their provisions—exclude the class to which almost all Negroes and a few whites belong.

"In Texas some fifty thousand Negroes exercise the franchise in general elections," writes Mr. Milton. Yet the *National Municipal Review* tells of a new White Primary Law in Texas.

This law grants power to the political party to make its own rules and regulations—concerning membership, for example. Thereupon the rule is made by the political parties that no Negro may belong to the party or take part in its primary elections. This has, supposedly, nothing to do with the Negro's right to vote in the general election.

But since nomination in the primary is almost the same thing as election in a direct-primary, one-party Southern State, the political party declaring that Negroes cannot vote in its primary elections has accomplished the discrimination it sought.

## A Convert from Socialism

**R**HETA CHILDE DORR became converted to Socialism as one gets religion, by pure emotion. "From a very small child, two glaring social injustices racked my soul, poverty and the subjection of women," she

writes in the *North American Review*. One of the first women asked to join the staff of a leading New York newspaper, she received a salary hardly more than half that of any of her male colleagues.

She lived in a tenement house in the center of the Ghetto, in order to study the conditions of women in industry, and there "my whole being blazed with wrath at the hideous poverty surrounding me. One day I saw a presser, crazed with heat, throw down his gas iron, run screaming through the crowded room, and plunge headlong into the street four stories below. . . . I asked them all silently 'Why do you endure it? You are the many, they are the few.'"

Then she went to England and met H. G. Wells. She told him how she felt, and learned from him that she was a Socialist. She "got religion on the spot." For years she believed in The People, and thought that a government by them would not tolerate poverty, oppression, privilege.

But she began to have her doubts. And with the outbreak of the war, when "an overwhelming majority of the Socialist party went over, lock, stock and barrel, to militaristic, Imperial Germany," Mrs. Dorr left the party. She became a war correspondent for the New York *Evening Mail* on

the Eastern and Western fronts. She observed the newly created Soviet Union. She discovered that The People, even there, did not rule; they did not know how to rule. Elsewhere in Europe, she watched nations struggle for life against malevolent Socialist forces.

One day she had a talk with President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. He said:

"Socialism is possible. Communism is possible. But first you must provide a human race which sincerely desires an unselfish government and knows how to get it."

"Since there was no such human race in sight, I embraced what seemed the only rational policy open to me," writes Mrs. Dorr. "I hurried back to the United States and allied myself permanently with the Republican party. . . . I am growing quite fond of Congress, too, because it is so truly representative of a free and independent people who will not even vote when they have a chance."



RHETA CHILDE DORR





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## WHICH SHALL IT BE?

At left, the rented home—apartments on Park Avenue, New York City. At right, a privately-owned house in the country. Both have their ardent advocates.

## To Buy or Not to Buy Your Home

WHICH is the better investment, to buy or to rent your home?

The general impression is that it pays to own your own home. Renters are supposed to hire their homes not because they like it, but because they lack the necessary capital to buy, or are engaged in professions which require them to be foot-loose. The American businessman looks to a mortgage-free home as a visible sign of success; the American moralist looks to it as the foundation of family life.

Yet what is this we hear about apartments that rent for \$10,000 and up a year? And how about the statistics which show that ten million of the twenty-two million homes in the United States are rented?

The ranks of the renters-who-like-it are steadily growing. They would rather rent near their work than own in the suburbs; they prefer to let a professional landlord battle with the

plumber, the painter, and the tax-collector; they feel richer with money invested in good securities than in however cosy a home.

This is called the greatest evil of city life by one faction; the other sees it as the natural development of an age of specialization.

But it is financial and not moral considerations that weigh with the home-maker who is asking: "Shall I buy or rent?" In several recent issues of the *Magazine of Wall Street* the arguments appear, pro and con.

Pay rent for ten years, and at the end, what have you but a lot of rent receipts and the cost of moving? asks a home-owner, Mr. C. L. Cleaver. Pay the same rent to a banker who holds a mortgage on your house, and at the end of the same period you have a delightful home, with grass for the children to play on, which you can live in for five, ten, or even twenty more years, free—or almost free—and then sell, perhaps for more than you paid in the beginning.

There are too many ifs in the proposition, replies a renter, Mr. Arthur Millard: "The

last time I moved, I did so because the neighborhood had depreciated. Supposing I had owned that house. I would not only have had difficulty in finding a buyer, but would doubtless have sold at a loss. Moreover, do you ever live in a house free? Have not taxes, heating, water, repainting, new plumbing, an extra wing, a dozen other things, each year made up a good-sized rental, and made you do a lot of worrying besides?"

Of course, says the renter, I might buy a house and sell at a profit, but am I, knowing nothing about real estate, likely to do so? And if I do, would my profit be more than the 6 per cent. which, at a conservative estimate, the capital sunk into the house would have brought me had it been invested in securities? No! The best place for home-owning troubles is on the shoulders of some one who is making a whole-time business of real estate.

Own or rent according to your temperament, advises J. R. Stear, who believes that, financially, the argument is a draw. Says he:

"Do you get a bit of a thrill or satisfaction in living in your own home? Do you like to feel that you are really part of a community? . . . Do you like a feeling of permanence and solidity? Do you want to give your children the memory of one home, rather than a kaleidoscope of houses, apartments, and moving vans?"

"If the foregoing paragraph strikes you as a bunch of nonsense then you will be happier as a renter. You haven't the home-owning temperament, and your morale would crash under the assault of laborers, mechanics, tax-collectors, and interest gatherers."

## Confessions of a Parson

**C**HARLES FISKE, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Central New York, is a social reformer who has at last undertaken to reform himself. Or so he describes himself in the *December Scribners*.

"How many June bugs of reform I have

allowed myself to chase!" exclaims the Bishop. But he has come to doubt the accomplishment of reformers, and to believe that the social uplifter may not be competent to decide the affairs of the whole universe; that ministers have been neglecting work distinctly their own to engage in work which was as distinctly in the province of others.

"I have been too frequently exposed to the contagion of executive secretaries," he says in explaining his conversion. "If some one had kept a list of all the reforms (civic, humanitarian, ecclesiastical, political) which have been urged upon my consideration in the past fifteen years, the list would look so formidable that the sympathies of the most violent uplifters might, for a moment, be aroused in behalf of the victims of their combined assaults."

Above the battle-cry of the executive secretaries the Bishop heard, moreover, a still, small voice questioning the character of much of the welfare work in which he and fellow reformers were engaged. For, he says, welfare work has been commercialized and professionalized until only a small percentage of the money and effort spent reaches its proper goal:

"America has become almost hopelessly enamored of a religion that is little more than a sanctified commercialism. . . . Sometimes, indeed, one wonders whether the social movement and the uplift in general have not become, among Protestants, a substitute for devotion; worse than that, a substitute for real religion. Efficiency has become the greatest of Christian virtues."

Yet the proportion of publicity to accomplishment in "efficient" welfare work is appalling. A corps of comfortably paid deputy-altruists, with high-sounding titles, carry on the work. The philanthropist merely gives the money and gets in return the feeling that he is "doing good." Only an expert could tell how much of the money goes into office rent, propaganda, travel, conference appropriations, and the salaries of those who function as executives.

Bishop Fiske then turns to the bad effects of all this preoccupation with social reform upon the minister. "I conceive the ministry as something more than glorified 'Y' work," he



RT. REV. CHARLES  
FISKE  
Bishop of Central New  
York

writes. "It is, therefore, with the expectation of hearing a prolonged sevenfold Amen from the suffering laity that I voice a prayer for the Church that it may escape the perils of the professional uplift, and learn that there is a way we may do our proper work and yet set forth a social gospel."

## A Long Life and a Merry One

"A SHORT life and a merry one"—so the story goes. But don't you believe it, says Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, an authority on public health who is now connected with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. He believes that popular tradition is all wrong. The short life is seldom merry, and the merry life is not only historically long, but getting longer.

"Consider certain examples of 'short life' and appraise their merriment," writes Dr. Armstrong in the *North American Review*. In 1900 the infant death rate in New York was three times as high as it is to-day. Those babies lived short lives, but how happy were they?

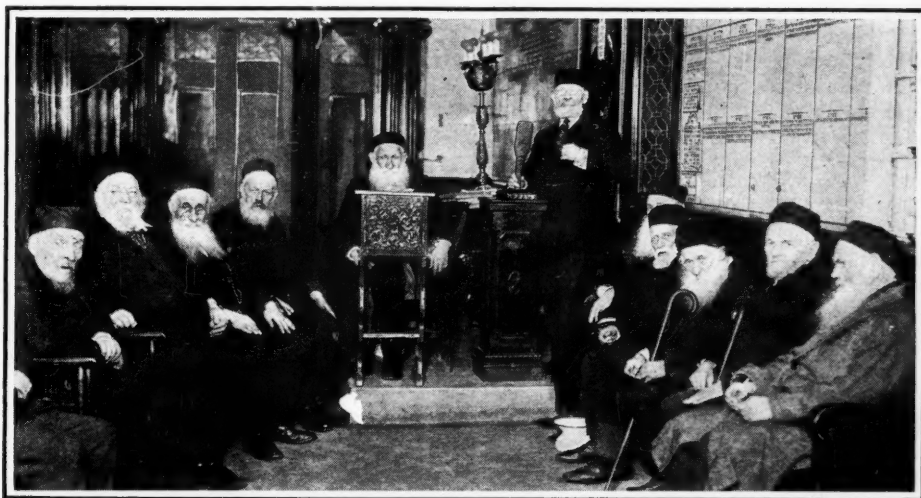
In 1789 a puritanical New England tradesman could expect to live only twenty-eight years. He worked hard, spent no money for

pleasures, was beset with superstitions, with fear of epidemics and disease. The average business man of to-day may look forward to fifty-eight years of life. He is protected from most infectious and epidemic diseases, he has his theaters and movies, his week-ends and two weeks' vacation.

No doubt about it, the modern man's life is longer and merrier than it was in 1789, and there is no reason why it cannot be even more so. "He can to-day add ten or twenty additional years to his life span. . . . He has only to apply established knowledge concerning disease prevention and life prolongation to his individual life." So says Dr. Armstrong.

Future progress in the battle against unnecessary disease and premature death is no longer primarily the burden of the health officer, but of the individual. Water and milk are protected. Sewage is disposed of. Typhoid is under control. "Summer complaint" is no longer an important cause of infant mortality. Tuberculosis, once first, now takes sixth or seventh place among causes of death.

The disease forces still curtailing life unnecessarily are, to an increasing extent, degenerative affections of the heart, the arteries, the kidneys, etc. Deaths from heart disease in the United States increased from 137 to 221 per hundred thousand persons between 1900 and 1924. In New York State alone the rate increased 70 per cent. Cancer plays an



THE "JOLLY MEN'S CLUB," WHOSE MEMBERS ARE ALL OVER NINETY YEARS OLD

A scene in the Home of the Daughters of Jacob.

increasingly important rôle, partly because more of us live to reach the cancer age.

The best way to prevent the inroads of these diseases is by periodic health examinations. The vital organs—heart, lungs, stomach, kidneys, or what-not—can, most of them, be repaired if damage to them is detected soon enough. Cancer can almost always be cured if discovered when it begins.

Then too, the modern man must learn to take the proper care of himself. He may do better than he did twenty years ago, with long week-ends, occasional days off, vacations, Sunday golf games, daily setting up exercises, and better habits of eating and sleeping. But all the time, the daily stress and strain of modern life grows harder.

Have periodic physical examinations, pleads Dr. Armstrong, and you can have a longer life and a merrier one.

## Laws, Labels, and Human Beings

THE criminal is not a human being in the eyes of the law. He is tried only to determine which of a limited number of labels—burglar, murderer, insane, innocent, and so on—is to be placed on him. This man acted thus and so; therefore he is a felon; therefore he shall be confined in a stone chamber seven years, because all who do this act shall be confined in a stone chamber seven years, no matter who they be.

To the psychiatrist this is stupid. He sees that because each of two men stole fifty dollars, they are not identical, nor best prevented from stealing another fifty dollars by identical punishment. The psychiatrist would look at the culprit rather than his crime, try to learn why he committed it, and to determine how to overcome his abnormal condition and restore the man to a proper place in society.

Dr. William White, head of St. Elizabeth's



© Keystone View

WILLIAM ALANSON  
WHITE

Hospital in Washington, D. C., and a prominent psychiatrist, pleads in the *Bar Association Journal* for coöperation between psychiatrists and lawyers.

After discussing the adherence of criminal law to tests for establishing sanity and the like which have remained unchanged for centuries, in spite of all that medicine has learned of human behavior, and after deploring the persistence of the old type of "vengeance punishment," Dr. White suggests the following lines of reform:

1. Segregate the dangerous anti-social types so long as they continue dangerous.
2. Eliminate punishment as vengeance, and use it only for definitely constructive ends.
3. Transform prisons into laboratories for the study of human behavior and the conditioning of human conduct.
4. Discard the concept of responsibility, which is largely metaphysical and has little to do with preventing crime.
5. Make district attorneys and judges of criminal courts permanent officials, appointed after competitive examinations protected by civil service laws.
6. It would be excellent to have district attorneys and judges, in the course of their educational preparation, serve internships in psychiatric clinics and prisons, just as physicians do in their various medical specialties.

## A Sabbatical Year for Marriage

"I HEREBY agree to live with this man (or woman) day in and day out, to share his quarters, his meals, his amusements, his vacations, his friendships, his goings out and his comings in, world without let up, Amen."

No such vow as this is to be found in the marriage service, but it might as well be there. It is tacitly read into the marriage contract by nearly all love-blinded couples, and sanctioned by social usage. And, says Samuel Hopkins Adams, the author, in the December *Harpers*, it is the principal reason for a marriage mortality, by divorce, of more than twelve and a half per cent. of American marriages.

"Now I have no nostrum or cure-all. . . . My modest suggestion is merely a palliative . . . a preventive, or even better, a preservative," writes Mr. Adams. "It is the



simple, old, and well-tested expedient of a vacation at stated intervals."

Most of the trouble with marriage lies in its being too close a corporation, particularly in these days of three-room flats. Too-constant association produces a friction that may poison the whole system. Hundreds of men and women in sanatoriums and rest cures are taking, as a last resort and in a disguised form, Mr. Adams's prescription for marital vacations.

"There was never yet a combination of personalities so perfect but that, sooner or later, it needed a change of air to keep it fresh and sweet," says Mr. Adams. "Morality need not enter into it. I am suggesting it as a measure of expediency to keep the closest of all fellowships from the taint of spiritual monotony."

The chief objection to the idea of vacations from one's life partner is the fear that said partner will not return; that Darby will meet some unscrupulous woman; that Joan will find a handful of suitors preferable to one non-exchangeable husband. There is that risk, of course. There is also the risk that the partners, once separated, will find that they never should have been joined. But were these unions worth preserving in any case?

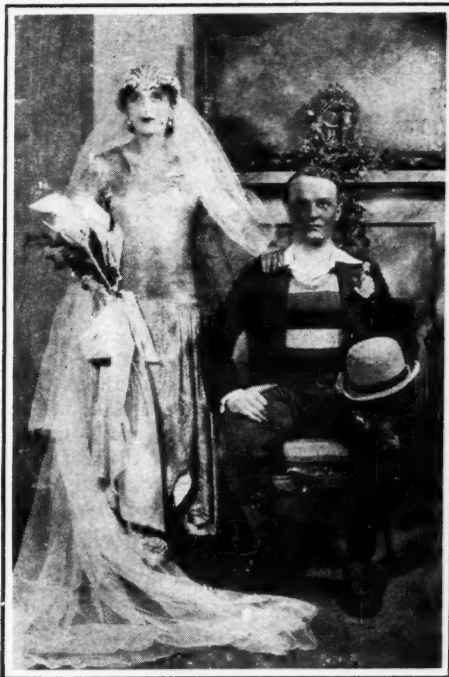
"For the sabbatical vacation no claim is advanced other than that it might give marriage in general a better chance of survival. Granted that it would definitely end a number of unions . . . would not an equal or greater number of imperiled but still salvable unions be saved? The leave-of-absence would keep a happy fellowship keen and vivified; it might well, by affording surcease of friction, render a maladjusted combination endurable, and so durable."

## Telephone Manners

THE morning's interruptions finally disposed of, you settle down to an important piece of work. The doorbell rings. You go to the front door. Outside stands a woman engrossed in "The Story of Philosophy." You say "Well?"

She looks up. "Who is this?" she asks. Then, "Wait a minute."

Whereupon she returns to her book. By and by a business man saunters up with a companion. As they reach your door, the woman looks up and says to the business man: "Here you are, Mr. Gulp."



© White

### A MARRIAGE WITHOUT PEACE

The wedding scene from Shakespeare's "The Taming of The Shrew," now being produced in modern dress, with Basil Sydney as Petruchio and Mary Ellis as Katherine.

"All right," says he, and goes on describing to his companion how he got a five on the sixteenth hole. Finally he says: "Excuse me, Jim," and turns to you. "Are you the Blank Corporation?" he asks.

You say that you are not.

"Isn't this 1327 Dienerstrasse?"

"No, this is 1463 Rue de Rivoli."

"That's the wrong number," he shouts angrily and slams your own door in your face.

Now this would never happen, admits Deems Taylor, distinguished musical composer, and author of the above incident, told in *Vanity Fair*. People do not send their secretaries to ring your doorbell and ask who you are, have you wait, and then insult you because you are not the person they hoped you were.

"However, if you revise the anecdote to the extent of changing the doorbell to the telephone bell, you will find that it coincides fairly closely with your own daily experience," says Mr. Taylor, exasperated.

## The Battle for Liberty

TO THOSE who look with inquiring eyes on that major industry of mankind, government, it has been evident that business has been extremely active. As in the automobile industry, it has been found necessary from time to time to introduce new models. And yet, have these changes really been so great that a different concept must be substituted for the liberty man has cherished so long, and in the name of which so many governmental changes have come about?

Gentleman, scholar, political thinker, and philosopher, Benedetto Croce of Italy, who has been called one of the few living philosophers who influences the thought of the world, ponders that question. In *l'Esprit Internationale*, a French publication of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, he discusses changes in political ideas since 1870, a year which was a turning point for political thinking.

Croce finds that at first glance the answer to his question is Yes: something seems to have replaced the ideal of liberty. Germany, for instance, was shaken like the rest of Europe with agitation for liberty in 1848—but in 1870 German unity was achieved by Bismarck and the mailed fist. Indeed, following 1870, the whole continent of Europe armed itself to the teeth. Within nations, political parties grouped themselves not about principles, but about material interests. Free trade gave way to tariff battles. The Catholic Church sought to maintain its political empire, at least among the rural classes. In culture, science pushed philosophy from its high place. And this materialism brought forth the World War, which none desired but all helped provoke.

Through the years since 1870 the guiding political principle has been the struggle for life and the survival of the strongest. From it have sprung communism, imperialism, and nationalism alike.

Nevertheless, critics of liberty and democracy are unable to offer anything constructive in its place. Either they fall into satire, an accession of bad humor, or they conclude that the present structure of government is imperfect rather than bad, and that it must be changed to render the liberal order more effective. They still cherish the ideal of carry-

ing forward the civilization of mankind. Moral enthusiasm continues to live.

"Many think that the fundamental problem of our time is religious," writes Croce. "I myself believe it, and I even believe that it has always been thus. I do not believe that it is a question of inventing a new religion for our times, but rather of reinforcing and deepening existing religion."

Croce goes on to show that his meaning is far broader than an appeal for piety. The religion he desires is a practical, secular ideal that shall raise man's life to a higher level:

"When it became necessary to warm over the enthusiasm of war-weary, belligerent nations, nothing was found more likely to make their eyes shine than liberty," he says. "They were told to establish its reign everywhere, even among their refractory enemies, as well as to found an alliance of peoples, or League of Nations, to press forward the free and peaceful development of world civilization. And if the tongues which preached this doctrine were often liars, the fact remains that this ideal was the only one which could be defended, the only one certain of awakening the people."

It appears, then, that we have come upon a strange divergence of ideas and fact, because the ideal of liberty and the reality of materialism seem worlds apart. Political doctrine and political happenings seem to be running on different tracks.

But this apparent divergence should make us suspect that political happenings have not been understood. Only one side of the picture has been presented, the materialistic side. It has been painted as a departure from the previous progress of civilization, whereas in reality it was a simple continuation of progress. The period should be understood, not as an abandonment of liberal ideals, but as a laborious struggle of these ideals with powerful new forces.

The fact remains that in the last forty or fifty years the governing principle has always been the liberal principle. Even in the unprecedented prostration caused by the war, no part of the world was willing to abandon its liberal concepts for a new form of government, excepting Russia, a land that had remained outside the liberal world.

Always the struggle goes on, concludes Croce, more sharply now perhaps than the war is seen to have settled fewer problems than had been hoped—and perhaps even to have

exaggerated them. But perhaps this exaggeration is itself the sign of a coming solution, of the beginning of a period—not of untroubled peace, which it is impossible to realize—but of relative stability and repose.

The author of these ideas is himself the subject of a personality sketch of Anthony Clyne, an Englishman, in the *Homiletic Review*. Mr. Clyne writes that Croce was born in 1866 in a remote village of the Abruzzi, of a distinguished family. Later the family moved to Naples, and against what Mr. Clyne calls the notoriously unmoral Neapolitan temperament, Croce rebelled violently. He studied in Rome and Naples, and then adopted the life of a student of means. He was not married. In 1883, his mother, father and sister were killed in an earthquake, from which he himself escaped only after having been buried for several hours. He had been seriously injured, and after years of slow recovery, he emerged a stoic towards pain and sorrow, assuming its inevitability in life.

Mr. Clyne's summing up of Croce gives some explanation of his present essay on political ideals, for Mr. Clyne concludes that "Croce's philosophy reconciles, or rather is a process of perpetually reconciling materialism and idealism."



BENEDETTO CROCE

to answer that question for the present age in the December *World's Work*. His list might please no other man: Thomas Hardy, H. G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett in literature, Sir James Barrie and Bernard Shaw in drama, Mussolini in statecraft outside Great Britain,

and so on through the fields of human endeavor. In general he seems to find a dearth of great men in our time.

Lord Oxford goes on to point out, however, that no man knows whence great men come:

"The production of great men is one of nature's most mysterious processes. It is not more so, perhaps (as science after nearly three-quarters of a century of Darwinism has to confess), than the mutations, whether effected gradually or by leaps and bounds, which have brought about varieties and new species in the whole organic world. Three of the greatest of Englishmen, none of them since surpassed in

his own department of activity—Newton, Marlborough, and Wren—belong to the age of Queen Anne. A century later, a single year—1809—saw the birth of Gladstone, Abraham Lincoln, Tennyson, Darwin, and Edgar Allan Poe. They were followed into the world in 1810-1812 by Cavour, Thackeray, Dickens. The familiar catchwords of 'heredity' and 'environment' obviously afford no solution to the capricious freaks of human fecundity."

## From Where Do Great Men Come?

"NOW things daily fall; wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward."

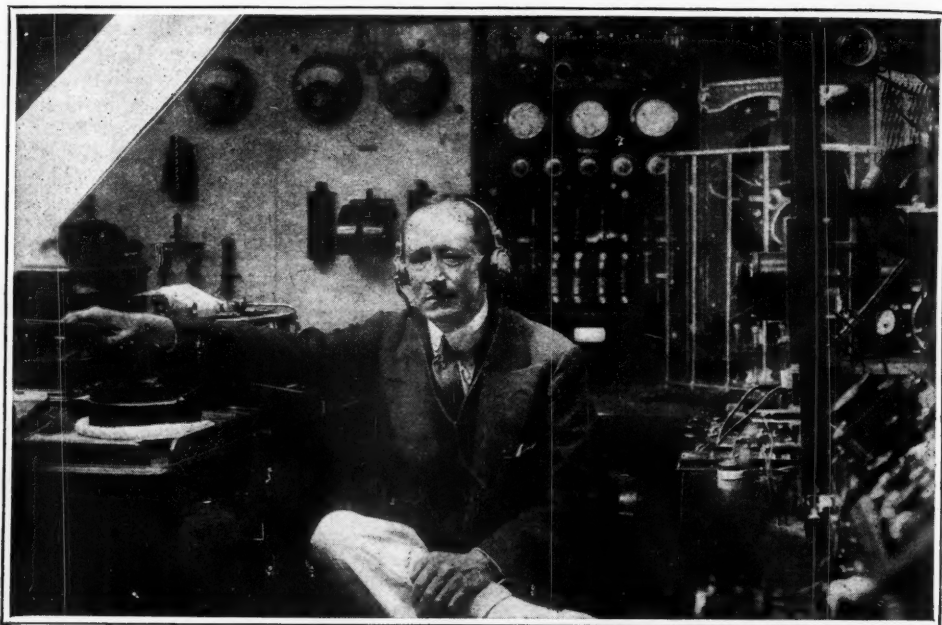
So Ben Jonson wrote in eulogizing Francis Bacon. Shakespeare was not long dead, but the Elizabethan period was already turning into history. At times like that men are wont to feel that they live in a day of small men and small things. They ask "Who are the great men of to-day?"

Lord Oxford and Asquith, former head of the Liberal party and mighty man of English politics in the years before the war, undertakes

## Marconi on the Future of Radio

THERE is a bright future for radio, according to Guglielmo Marconi, inventor of wireless. A New York *Times* reporter found him at his hotel one rainy afternoon during his recent stay in New York, happily engaged with an ordinary radio outfit and loud-speaker.

Short-waves and directive transmission are closest to Signor Marconi's heart and mind at the present time, according to the *Times*. He believes that many secrets of photo-radio,



SIGNOR MARCONI, THE ITALIAN INVENTOR, IN THE WIRELESS ROOM OF HIS YACHT "ELECTRA"

facsimile transmission, high-speed communication and television are wrapped up in wave-lengths below eighty meters, and in the narrow beams of energy that the short waves are made to carry.

"I am profoundly impressed by the enthusiasm of the people in the United States for radio," he said, "and by the number of practical uses to which radio is put here. And I am surprised at the general knowledge of radio among the younger generation. The elders are dragged into radio for entertainment, but youths are in it because they find it fascinating, and that . . . is what will send radio ahead."

Signor Marconi sent this message to young men who are studying radio:

"Study short-waves and directive systems and experiment in these fields, because they hold vast possibilities. Long-distance radio communication of the future will be over short-waves. Only recently have we discovered that these waves are capable of results unobtainable with long waves."

Long-distance transmission by short-waves eliminates or greatly reduces static, for example. World-wide distances can be spanned by short-waves with comparatively small power outputs. "Fading remains the most serious obstacle to

be overcome, although it is worse on long wave-lengths than on short-waves.

"And, lastly, short-waves can not but assist in rendering more practical the systems of picture and facsimile transmission, including television, which I believe is now emerging from the laboratory stage."

## The Freedom of the Cage

**A**NIMALS enjoy the Zoo almost as much as the humans who come to visit them there. In spite of the faraway look in their eyes, they have probably forgotten all about the days when they roamed the forest—and lived in fear of animals a size larger than themselves, of starvation, and perhaps of man. Those which have become accustomed to having everything done for them lose their desire for work, as do human beings who have much wealth and little mentality.

Wild creatures live or die in captivity in some ratio to their intelligence, believes Stephen Haweis, a member of the Smithsonian-Chrysler Expedition which recently went to Africa in



search of new tenants for the National Zoological Park at Washington. Writing in *Nature Magazine*, Mr. Haweis declares that intelligent animals soon learn not to hurt themselves trying to escape, and to trust the man who treats them well. The clever, venturesome ones are willing to learn to eat food to which they are not accustomed; the foolish starve beside it.

The first emotion of an animal caught and confined in a cage is shame. Not rage or fear—these may come later—but shame at having been outwitted, at having been so foolish as to be caught: he should have known that goats do not come tied up within a man-made house with only one door. Rage comes later, with the desire to fight his captor for his freedom. Then fear. Not fear of man, but fear because he cannot get out, and that therefore no food can get in.

"The first few hours must be terrible, since to a caged beast they must seem to mean slow starvation," writes Mr. Haweis. "Then the miracle happens. Just enough good meat appears, and a tin pond of water just enough for once, but who knows where the next meal will come from? It takes time for an animal to realize that meat can be obtained without the preliminary of stalking the living prey and killing it. But it comes regularly every day. Rigid cleanliness is maintained. Men with

their mates and young wander along outside the bars, but they have no guns; instead they have peanuts! Food and protection from enemies are free. . . . It is not the best of lives, but it is not the worst either. Indolence and food are the human ideal of many who are credited with being far higher in the scale of life.

"Freedom itself is a delight, up to a point, but it is not everything. . . . Animals when let out learn to run back to the cage for safety and they are not often a success in the wild state after a period of luxury and personal attention under artificial circumstances."

Animals do not think about the past unless some scent or sight or sound recalls it to them. Small animals in large cages probably do not even know that they are confined, and remain as wild as they ever were even after ten or more years of captivity. Large cages for the larger animals are impractical for that very reason: the beasts do not become tame, and are too difficult to handle.

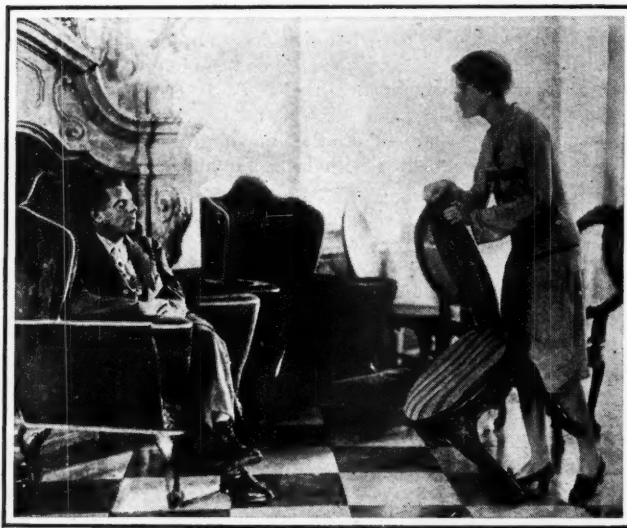
Mr. Haweis declares that zoos and pet-keeping are invaluable to civilization. Studying animal habits and psychology, making possible research that produces all sorts of useful by-products, as well as informing and delighting thousands who come to the zoo, and training them in the best methods of pet-keeping, are a few of the zoo's services.



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#### THERE IS NO CAGE BETWEEN YOU AND THE LION

At the zoo in Johannesburg, South Africa, you watch the animals across a ditch too wide for them to jump.



MAX REINHARDT REHEARSES HIS AMERICAN STAR

The famous European theatrical director is here shown with Miss Rosamond Pinchot, in Reinhardt's castle at Leopoldskrone.

## The Revolt of the Drama

ONCE there dwelt in the old summer palace of Leopoldskrone an Archbishop, Prince of Salzburg, who hated the theater and everything connected with it. Now this same palace is the home of Max Reinhardt, prince of theatrical producers, who is artist, scholar, critic, host at fabulous parties, and recluse besides.

But Mr. Reinhardt is not much more hopeful about modern drama than was the old Archbishop. In an interview secured for the *Ambassador*, a European weekly published in Paris, he declares that all lovers of the true theater should revolt against the slipshod practices of modern playwrights and the degenerate fashions of modern stage production. The drama is on the downward slope, says he, and has been ever since the introduction of the picture stage in the late eighteenth century.

The theater of Greece and Rome, of Shakespeare and Molière, advanced into the middle of the audience, with listeners to the left and the right, as well as in front. It is only under these conditions that an actor can do his best. "If it receded behind the frame during the eighteenth century, it is because

there were no great dramatists and few great actors during that time. . . .

"The scenery, too, must assume three dimensions. It must be solid, real.

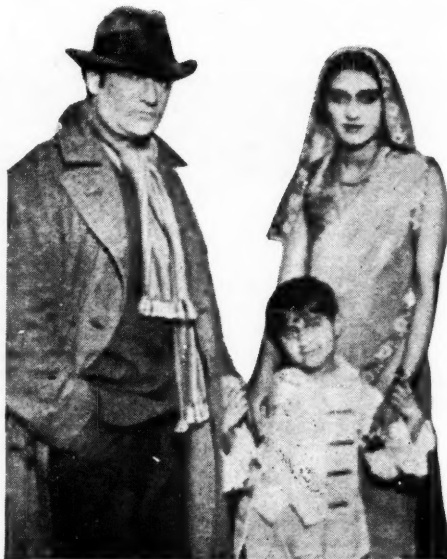
"The whole conception of a stage-land irretrievably separated from audience-land must be abolished. . . . You must abolish the curtain. You must bring the characters through the audience onto the stage whenever you can."

## The Return of Jacob Epstein

AFTER twenty-five years, Mr. Jacob Epstein has returned to New York, city of his birth. With him he has brought forty-five

crates containing all his available sculpture, and a reputation.

Mr. Epstein's work generally arouses discussion, whether acrimonious criticism or loud



THE SCULPTOR WITH HIS MODELS

The Hindu Princess and her son may be compared with their likenesses in the statue on the opposite page.

acclaim. A piece more than likely to do so, among those he will exhibit in New York City, is a life-sized group, the "Madonna and Child" on which he worked for two years. This has not yet been exhibited publicly. The *Manchester Guardian* says of it:

"Those who have seen it privately think that in this group he has . . . found the final form for the strange and potent beauty that always beats about his sculptured visions. . . . This work is believed by several responsible judges to rank among the masterpieces of our age."

The "Madonna and Child" challenge not only artistic criticism, but racial prejudice as well. His models for the figures were a beautiful Hindu princess, Sunita, and her son.

Epstein studied under George Grey Barnard at public classes when a boy, and left for Paris while he was still in his teens. He later went to England to further his acquaintance with the girl who became his wife, a girl he had met in Paris. Concerning the "Madonna and Child," Mr. Epstein is quoted by the *London Observer* as saying:

"I hope the piece will eventually be placed in one of the largest cathedrals, either in England or America. I should not like it to finish up in an art gallery, which is the last place any art should go. . . . But the times seem to have passed when the Church commissioned artists to beautify the interiors of cathedrals."

Concerning war memorials, Mr. Epstein said: "Personally, I think war should have no record at all in art. It is a primitive, uncivilized thing, and art begins with civilization."

"In saying this I shall probably offend that

large and increasing coterie of modern young sculptors who are busy these days being as primitive as possible in their work. But my advice to them is to get away from such an attitude as quickly as they can. There is no inspiration to be drawn from the primitive. It attracts all of us in our youth, but it leads us nowhere."



EPSTEIN'S "MADONNA AND CHILD"

## Mussolini and The Muse

ALL Rome is fiddling while Mussolini burns. The flame of the moment with which Il Duce is glowing is a passion for more and better music in Italy. As might be expected from the man who decreed that there shall be no more holidays, he takes this task seriously. If the Muse cannot inspire all Italy to burst into song unaided, Mussolini is eager to lend her his own vigor. He has even lent her money, in the shape of a State subsidy to musical organizations.

"Determined upon a reconstructed and more fruitful Italy in all respects . . . he has approached music with both a view to its necessity for the happiness of the people, and its value as an asset to the State,"

writes Signor Italy Falbo in the *Musical Digest*.

Mussolini is a lover of music and a skilful violinist, says Signor Falbo, who considers both his appreciation and his talent typical of his race.

The protection of musical artists, and the encouragement of young composers while they are still alive have been provided for by edict.

Yet apparently this is not enough. "Raising his voice the Duce required all theaters operating in Italy to produce at least three different

operas during a season," reports Signor Falbo. He imposed a tax on non-musical theatrical performances, on horse-racing and similar amusements, the proceeds of which are devoted to musical enterprises. He indicated a desire that those illustrious Italian singers who are engaged for large fees abroad should return occasionally to their native land to sing for the more modest compensation Italian theaters can pay. Many have signified their willingness to appear this winter at the Costanzi in Rome.

Opera is by no means to be Italy's sole musical vehicle, although in the past Italy's composers have written, and Italy's audiences have demanded, chiefly the music of the stage. The symphony and similar forms of "pure" music, already popular, have received repeated evidences of official approval.

The number of orchestras and smaller musical organizations has doubled and tripled—largely as a result of the subsidy. Toscanini at La Scala, pinnacle of Italian opera, has now won world-wide fame as a concert conductor. Bernardino Molinari will this winter be a guest-conductor of the New York Philharmonic, the St. Louis Symphony, and other orchestras.

Surveying these and other works, such as propaganda organizations for spreading Italian music through the world, Mussolini feels that a great day has dawned for Italian music.

## Greyhound Racing, England's Newest Sport

**T**HRILLING and exhilarating as a spectacle, clean and wholesome as a sport. This is the tribute paid to greyhound racing by Frank Harvey, a horseman, writing in the London *Outlook* about England's predominant pastime of the moment.

The dogs chase an electric hare, which of course they never catch. But they enjoy it, Mr. Harvey believes. It is perfectly ridiculous, says he, to think—as some do—that the sport is cruel. The time at which the races are run—

in the evening—the cheap seats, the betting, the relatively small expense of owning and training a dog, as compared with a horse, have all contributed to the popularity of the sport with poor as well as rich. In the *Sportsman*, Sir Theodore Cook describes the scene:

A crowd of a hundred thousand spectators of every class, age and degree of income gathers in the brightly lighted stadium. The roar of the bookmakers dominates everything, particularly in the sections where seats sell for less

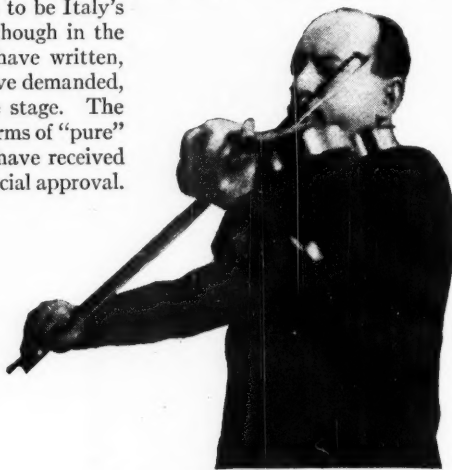
than a dollar. Then the bugle blows. The stadium turns black and silent, and the lights are concentrated on the great green ribbon of the oval track.

The dogs, each dressed in a neat little coat bearing a number, are placed in the starting box. To the stern clangor of a vigorous bell the dummy hare, not a very realistic-looking beast, starts off on its track around the outside of the oval. Once around it goes to gather speed. As it passes the start-

ing box, going at a merry clip, the starting signal is given, and the dogs are off. The dogs do not race one another. They are after the hare. If a dog approaches dangerously near the hare, the man in the tower at the finish line accelerates the pace of the hare. At the end of the race, the hare pops into a little box and the door snaps shut in the very noses of the panting hounds. They turn away dejectedly. The race is over. You get as many as eight races for your money, at twenty-minute intervals.

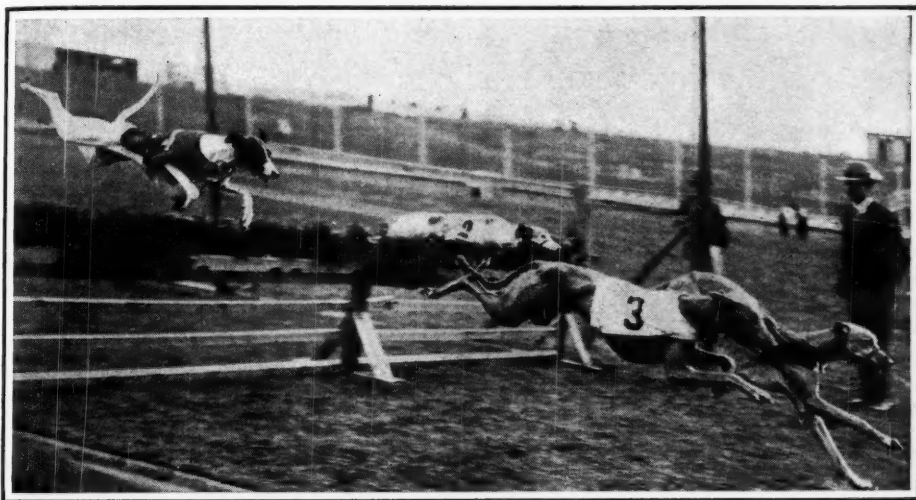
The average speed of the dogs is about thirty-five miles an hour. A greyhound pup that a year ago would have cost \$25 dollars, will now bring \$500 if he shows signs of making that speed; performers of proved ability have changed hands for as much as \$2500.

Betting naturally plays a large part in the races. There are those who say that without the betting, none would go twice to see a dog run. Many believe that greyhound racing has increased betting and gambling to an alarming extent. Dog races alone yield £10,000 a week



PREMIER MUSSOLINI WITH HIS VIOLIN





RACING GREYHOUNDS ON AN ENGLISH TRACK

to the treasury in the shape of betting tax, according to the *Inquirer*. "It is the achievement of greyhound racers that they have made betting safe—and easy—for democracy," writes the *Manchester Guardian*. The chief objection seems to be that dog racing draws a far greater number of its devotees from the classes which cannot afford to bet. The *Inquirer* sums up: "Bookmakers thrive, racing courses are multiplied, workers are demoralized, shopkeepers are impoverished, homes are neglected. . . ."

To this may be added the mournful comment of the *Westminster Gazette*: "Its lure for tens of thousands of young people to spend more money than they can reasonably afford under conditions of artificial excitement is a serious point of social consideration, especially as the whole foundation of it is a commercial speculation, and as other and less harmful methods of gambling are forbidden by the law."

## New College Presidents

TWO colleges of similar size and age, both of excellent academic standing, have recently taken unto themselves new presidents. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Amherst graduate, until a few months ago Dean of the College of Arts, Literature and Sciences at the University of Chicago, was installed at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, on October 24. Arthur Stanley

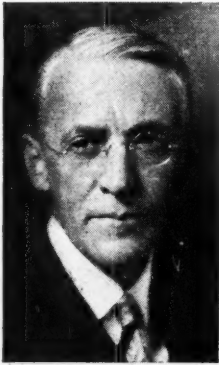
Pease, Harvard graduate, professor of Latin at Amherst, took office at Amherst on November 4. Both men are widely known as scholars in their chosen fields, and as proponents of the best modern college education.

Dr. Wilkins believes that the worth of a college depends upon the quality of its teaching, and he devoted his inaugural address to a consideration of this subject.

"If the teaching is good, the college is a good college, even though its plant be inadequate and its athletic stars be dim," he said. "If the teaching is poor, the college is a poor college, even though it have a Freshman Week and a psychiatrist."

He went on to discuss the perfect teacher, and how to know him, although the larger part of his address is devoted to the conditions under which a good teacher can do his best work. Leisure is the most important item. Teaching is exhausting; it requires careful preparation and thought, much giving of self, and constant revitalizing of the mind both by reading and association with other minds. Moreover, most good teachers are not satisfied with teaching alone. They feel the urge to intellectual creation, either original effort or research, and they should be given time and encouragement. The return to the college is well worth it.

Dr. Wilkins believes that modern teaching should deal with the individual; that the best teaching is a process of inspiration and direction not possible unless the relations of teacher



ERNEST H. WILKINS



ARTHUR S. PEASE

and student are fairly intimate. This is a main point in Dr. Pease's inaugural address at Amherst, in which he declared for more liberal education, and urged the limitation of the numbers of students, if necessary, in order to insure individual attention from the instructor. Dr. Pease put it this way:

"Training in independent thinking can hardly be given en masse. . . . The larger the class, the greater, in the nature of things, must be the dependence of the student upon authority . . . and the less can there be of individual criticism of the student's mastery of facts, and the conversion of those facts into an understanding of principles. . . . Here is where the small college has found its strength.

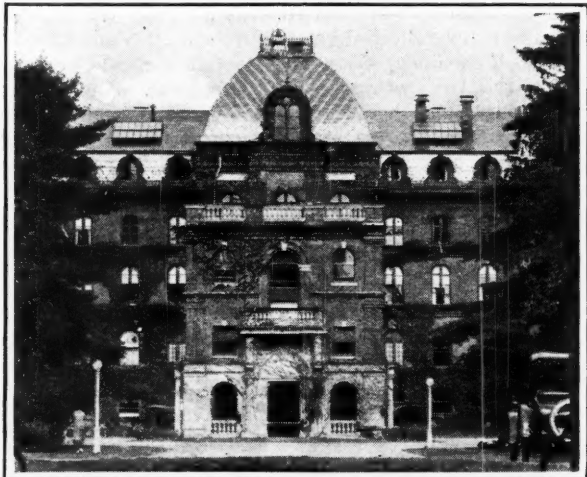
"Institutions of a distinctly public character may find themselves under the necessity of furnishing some kind of instruction, no matter how diluted, to all who may apply, but the guardians of a privately endowed college will, I believe, be more faithful to their trust and better conservators of the money given by its donors if they provide for the merciful exclusion, or even the rigorous elimination, of those obviously unfitted or disinclined for intellectual pursuits, and if they make high quality rather than extensive quantity the distinguishing characteristic of the product of the college, confident that in so doing they are best preparing men for the successful practice of their life work."

## Do Americans Believe In Educating Women?

NEVER has the outlook for the higher education of women seemed so rosy. In the fifty years since the establishment of the leading Eastern colleges for women, popular prejudice has been overcome, the standards of teaching have been raised enviably high, and the girl graduate has taken her place as a useful member of society. Even the proportion of graduates who marry has risen steadily, until it is now more than half and is still on its way up. Yet those who know best say all is not well.

A crisis confronts them which must be met if we are not to see them slowly losing the place they won with so much difficulty, according to a statement made in the *Atlantic Monthly* by the deans and presidents of seven leading Eastern institutions for women.

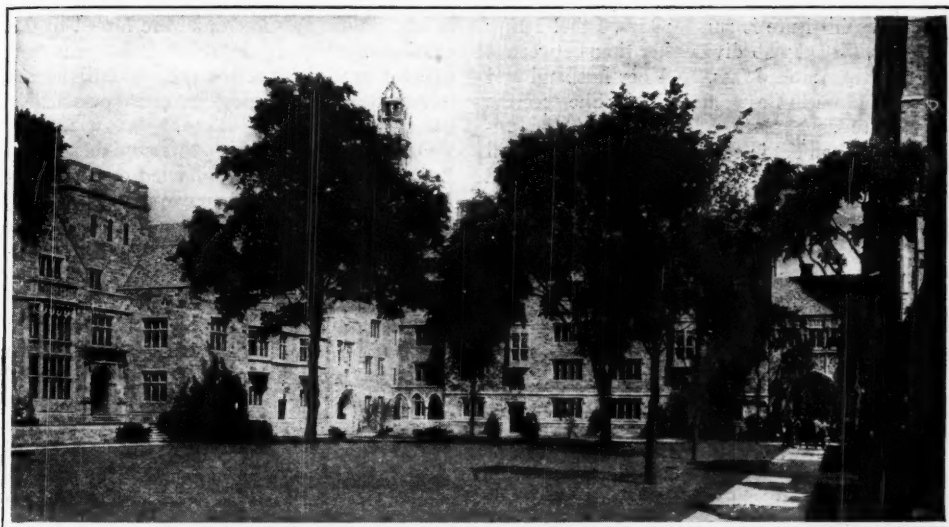
"Are we in America prepared to admit the right of women to the same quality of educational opportunity as men? If we are, it follows that the institutions for women should receive financial support in proportion to the tasks laid upon them. Such support has so far not been given," write, jointly, Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, Marion Parks of Bryn Mawr, Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke, Ada L. Comstock of Radcliffe, Ellen F. Pendleton of Wellesley, William A.



© Ewing Galloway

MAIN HALL, VASSAR COLLEGE, POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Here the students lived and studied fifty years ago; here they live and study to-day.



THE HARKNESS MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE AT YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN

Endowments such as the men's colleges receive are what women's colleges need, say their deans and presidents.

Neilson of Smith, and Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar.

The endowment of women's colleges is meager compared with that of men's colleges. Private institutions of learning are, in this day and age, supported largely by gifts from private individuals. Most of America's money is in the hands of men, and to the men's colleges it goes.

The women's colleges are steadily being drained of their men teachers by men's colleges which can afford to pay more and to offer their teachers free time for research. The faculties of women's colleges are as good as they are only because the demand for women teachers of a high grade is slight. But salaries at women's colleges are small and hours long, and plants are almost universally inadequate. This in spite of endowment drives that have taxed alumnæ to the limit.

Fees have been raised so high that the number of students from the less well-to-do families and from public high schools is showing a serious decline. It is from these classes that, experience has shown, the best minds come. The decline increases, although a large slice of the college's income goes to provide scholarships for girls who cannot afford the regular fee.

The material which is being sent the women's colleges in such great numbers consists of the daughters of men who hold them as their

dearest possessions, the statement says. For their physical welfare and for their pleasures the fathers lavish wealth. For the training of their minds and the development of their personalities, the provision, in comparison with that made for their brothers, is meager and grudging.

"Do Americans believe in educating women or do they not?" inquire the deans and presidents.

### *How to Be Educated, Though Married*

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, president of Smith College, believes that the outstanding problem confronting almost every educated woman is how to reconcile a normal life of marriage and motherhood with intellectual activity such as her college education has fitted her for.

"Of what use is it to educate girls for four years, their best formative years, direct their thoughts into particular channels and cultivate their tastes, if they cannot continue along these lines after marriage?" he asks. The Institute to Coördinate Women's Interests, a year-old venture at Smith College, is to find the answer.

Rebecca Hourwich in the *Independent* tells

that the institute is run by Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes, Ph.D., who divides her time between it in Northampton, Mass., and her husband and two children in Scarsdale, N. Y. She sees the Institute as a place where the "hidden unconscious conflict in educated women's lives will be brought to light" to receive discussion and hope of adjustment.

"To create a unified life for women that will combine all their primary interests," is the phrase under which three-year endowment was granted to the Institute by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund.

## Great Britain

THE picture of Great Britain painted in its daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals is not very cheery. The country faces problems so serious that it cannot get its editorial mind off them; and the general opinion is that not very much is being done about them. Altogether John Bull—as seen in his periodicals—is gloomy.

The Labor party, led by Ramsay MacDonald, and the Liberal party, led by Lloyd George, are flourishing. Hot attacks are directed by them at Mr. Baldwin's Conservative Government, which is accused of having done nothing to better the condition of industry, of trade which is still declining, of agriculture which faces bankruptcy. Moreover, the Liberal and Labor forces point out, Mr. Baldwin's disarmament policies have won only ill-will abroad; he will not commit himself about changes in the House of Lords; and no financial program that will keep England's head above water has been devised.

The thinking, or at least, the writing people of Great Britain, choose to be painfully frank about Britain's sad plight. They score the public for indifference, the government for inaction, the Opposition for selfish motives, ill-thought-out plans, and lack of a real policy.

Premier Baldwin makes a speech to the Conservative Party Convention, in which he is cheerful about the future of trade, comments with pride on pensions, on the new voting law allowing "flappers" the franchise. His speech is greeted by Liberal, Labor, and even Conservative hoots. A typical protest comes from the *Nation and Athenæum*: "It seems reasonable to expect at least some hint of the way in which Ministers propose to grapple with the most urgent national problems. We can find none

in Mr. Baldwin's speech and are forced to the conclusion that he is content to drift on, without any constructive policy, until he exhausts the good-will which his genial personality has attracted."

Or Mr. MacDonald addresses the Labor Party Convention, and is hauled over the editorial coals in many a newspaper and weekly. The *Outlook* says: "We see no future for the party which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald nominally leads, but actually follows, until it has made up its mind what it really wants. . . ." The proposal of the Labor party, sanctioned by MacDonald, for a surtax on all unearned income over £500 is characterized by Garvin, editor of the *Observer*, as "a notion as suicidally insane as any known in politics" and explained by the Manchester *Guardian* as the pitiful result of Labor's search for a social remedy which will be popular with the patient. Nor is the Labor plan for nationalizing mines better received; the most violent arguments against it are gathered in an article by E. T. Good in the *English Review*. As to the plan for a minimum wage of £4 a week, the *Times* quotes Sir Philip Snowden, who has worked it out that this would make the wage bill of the country exceed its yearly income by £500,000,000.

Meanwhile the Liberal party fares little better. According to Arnold Bennett, new editor of *World Today*, Lloyd George is its greatest liability. James Corbett, well-known writer on political subjects, says a good word for the Liberal land policy in the *Fortnightly*. While the scheme is the work of Lloyd George, there is more unanimity about it in Liberal ranks than about any other issue.

All the important questions facing Great Britain are taking on the color of one political party or another, yet there is a general feeling that there will be no general election for a while. The *Outlook* expresses it thus:

"The truth is that none of the three parties want an election this next year, and the man in the streets also does not want one."

Although Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech to the League of Nations, refusing to sign a general disarmament and security protocol, was well received in England by Conservatives, Liberals and Labor alike, the British people do, we learn from its editors, desire disarmament. That is, says the *Spectator*:

"If there is any one thing upon which most Englishmen have made up their minds, it is that they do not mean to have another great



war and will not tolerate any risk of it." Thorough discussions of disarmament problems and methods are found in several current monthlies. Lord Robert Cecil, whose resignation from the Cabinet was sincerely regretted by the British press, won great favor with a speech given before the League of Nations Union at the opening of its disarmament campaign. In it he stressed Great Britain's willingness to cooperate in disarmament ventures.

Lloyd George's speech on the same occasion deplored the failure of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, saying that it had had a chilling effect on the whole movement toward disarmament. The burden of his vivid remarks was that another war is inevitable "unless the nations will to live at peace." Many of the public men of Britain frequently express their conviction that the world is fast heading toward another war.

It is believed on the continent that when Britain blocked the security pact of the League, which would have made disarmament possible, she indicated her true attitude toward the League of Nations—one of distrust and contempt. Concerning the League, British opinion varies. There are those, like the editors Wickham Steed and Garvin, who believe that the League is progressing, if slowly, and acquiring prestige and stability. There are also those like Sisley Huddleston, well-known British writer on international affairs, who says in the *Contemporary Review*:

"To-day the League is regarded chiefly as a conclave of Foreign Ministers belonging to the Principal Powers. Though they use the League to some extent, they appear really scornful of a League which is composed of Smaller Powers whose wishes are not consulted. . . . It is time that convincing evidences of the League's earnestness be given." And Maxse, editor of the *National Review*, says:

"Geneva appears to be a hot-bed of international intrigue, a center of incoherence and confusion. . . . The League can only make a show of unity so long as it does nothing. . . .

"Powers, great and small, with irreconcilable interests, feel that they cannot afford to understand each other's view point."

The modernist-fundamentalist war has broken out in Britain with full force. The cause of the disturbance is the progressive Bishop of Birmingham, who was moved, not long ago, to comment on Sir Arthur Keith's reaffirmation of the Darwinian theory. The Bishop, Dr. E. W.



AS ENGLAND SEES AMERICA

John Bull envying Uncle Sam's wealth. From the *Glasgow Record*.

Barnes, declared that the Church had weakened itself by too long ignoring the scientific truth, and that the theory of evolution did not, to his mind, conflict with the foundations of the Christian faith. Bishop Barnes also has a sceptic's view of transubstantiation.

As he started to preach at St. Paul's Cathedral one Sunday, the Bishop was interrupted by Canon Bullock-Webster, followed by a large group of churchmen, who publicly denounced him as a heretic and then left the Cathedral. Dr. Barnes proceeded with his sermon, but later wrote an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who replied.

Brawling in church is the technical description of Canon Bullock-Webster's act. The incident created an uproar in the press, echoes of which reached America. Those who look forward to a schism in the Church of England feel that the air has been cleared.

But in religion, as in politics, agriculture, and industry, there appears to be a feeling that all is not well in Great Britain; that statesmen are making political fuel out of matters which should have impartial, intelligent, and immediate solution. And that, above all, the people themselves are largely ignorant of and indifferent to the conditions of affairs.

## Prophets of Prosperity

A NEW kind of man has come to the top. He is going to run this new industrial age. All America is relieved. We had been worried, afraid that the old-fashioned rich men, the money-makers and profit-takers, would be in charge. These new men make fortunes as big as, even bigger than, those of the old profit-takers. But we do not care.

It is this phenomenon—America losing its fear of Big Business—that occupies first place in the December *Atlantic Monthly*. Samuel Strauss, formerly publisher of the now extinct *New York Globe*, but perhaps better known as a political and social philosopher, there undertakes to explain, at least in outline, how it came about.

"For a long century we struggled against inordinate wealth," he begins. "We fought the money power, swollen fortunes, the trusts, big business. And yet all the while . . . we found trusts more solidly entrenched than before, big business bigger, great fortunes greater. . . . And then what happened? . . . To-day

our children are coming home from school proud to recite for us the names of America's billion-dollar companies. . . . We ask whether the country would not be better off if there were more large farms and not so many little ones, not so many little coal mines, not so many separate railroads."

The change began, Mr. Strauss believes, when for the first time in history a virgin land flowing with milk and honey began to instal machinery. There followed what we call the industrial age, and we feared that the money-maker of its early days would remain in control, dominate the rest of the nation, and rule it relentlessly. But he did not. Gradually he began to be replaced by the new leader of industry—a process which still goes on.

These men are becoming our dominant men because we live in an industrial society, which has replaced the political, church, and military societies which at one time or another have held sway in the past.

It remains to be explained, however, wherein the new key men of industrial society differ from the money-makers. Mr. Strauss sees the chief difference in their attitude toward leisure. The money-maker considers rest from work as refreshment which shall permit more work. "The more work and the less rest," he explains, "the more goods to use."

This dictum has been made obsolete, though only yesterday. When machinery was set to work in a land flowing with milk and honey, the result was bound to be profusion—more than enough of the world's goods to go around. Work is no longer the chief necessity, for leisure has been raised equal with it. When the time comes that the worker sets the Creator an example by resting from his labor two days out of the seven, he will have those two days in which to use the goods he has made, to wear out his automobile, to use up tires and gas, making place for more automobiles, tires, and gas.

Yet these men have lost something that was inherent in the old civilizations. They are the prophets of things. They live among things, understand them, like them, but pay little attention to men and women. "Is this good?" asks Mr. Strauss. "Is it bad? . . . Must not the resulting profusion defeat itself, overleap its banks, drown everything—freedom, opportunity, law, order, justice, even profusion itself?"

Mr. Strauss seems to fear that it will.



SYMBOL OF THE INDUSTRIAL AGE  
Carondelet Street in New Orleans, with five banks  
showing in the picture.

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# As Stated

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**WALTER DURANTY:**  
*Newspaper Correspondent in Russia  
In Current History*

The measure of Soviet Russia's success is in direct ratio to its divergence from the original strict principles of Marxian Communism.

**FRANCIS McCULLAGH:**  
*British Journalist  
In the Commonwealth*

You have in Mexico City American "news-gatherers" with a thirst for the sensational, sending dull and monotonous narratives. . . . And, on the other hand, you have old, experienced and scholarly diplomats, men with an ingrained habit of understatement and a professional hatred of journalistic exaggeration, writing secret dispatches calculated to make the flesh creep.

**MOISSEI ILYICH FRUMKIN:**  
*Vice-Commissar for Finance, Soviet  
Russia  
In Current History*

The financial policy of the Soviet Government . . . has entirely justified itself. The national economy of our Union is ever growing, ever gaining strength, and with it the financial resources of the country.

**P. R. WILLIAMS:**  
*President of the American Institute of  
Banking  
In Commerce and Finance*

No longer is the Presidential election year the bugaboo we were wont to imagine, and the approaching election has but little if any place in the discussion of the financial outlook. Altogether there seems to be no catastrophe that American business men cannot cope with.

**WILLIAM RALPH INGE:**  
*Dean of St. Paul's, London  
In the Churchman*

To the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" all America enthusiastically answers, "Yes."

**SIDNEY DARK:**  
*In the Quarterly Review*

Two generations ago, America depended on the culture of Europe, and particularly on the culture of England. To-day there is more than a little danger that the culture of Europe and particularly that of England may be overwhelmed by the new barbarism of success, jazz, spotlights on steeples, and Hollywood cinema plays.

**STANLEY BALDWIN:**  
*Prime Minister of Great Britain*

War between two such forces as the British and the United States would destroy once and for all the whole of civilization worth preserving that exists to-day.

**THOMAS ALVA EDISON:**  
*In Popular Science Monthly*

Don't make any mistake about the war. It will come. . . . Sooner or later the nations of Europe will combine against the United States.

**STANLEY FROST:**  
*In the Forum*

About the one thing on which they [the Democrats] agree—except the viciousness of the Republicans—is good roads.

**ROLLIN M. PERKINS:**  
*In Harper's*

The great American game is the trial of the criminal case.

**WILLIAM E. BARTON:**  
*On the Lausanne Conference  
In the Living Church*

We found ourselves and each other more sensible men, and more honest men, and more truly Christian men than we had expected, and the pity is that we did not do more about it.

**AN EDITORIAL:**  
*In the Manufacturer's Record*

Germany, having "kameraded" itself out of its self-imposed bankruptcy, rides the wave of prosperity. And with characteristic German treachery, it is using this prosperity in preparation for the next war.

**J. B. PRIESTLEY:**  
*In the Forum*

In literature we might very well make a division into three: the tender-minded, or the optimists; the tough-minded, or the pessimists; and the mean-minded, or the depressimists.

**WILLIAM G. SHEPHERD:**  
*In Collier's*

Installment buying won't go until the American home goes.

**L. J. MAXSE:**  
*British editor  
In the National Review*

Englishmen could probably secure the defeat of any candidate for the presidency of the United States, whether Republican or Democrat, by convincing the American people that they desired his election.

**GLEN W. BIRKETT:**  
*A Wisconsin dirt farmer  
In the Atlantic Monthly*

Almost every one, save the farmer, believes in farm aid.

**OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD:**  
*In Harper's*

It is a notorious fact that the grossest brutalities and tortures are deliberately and systematically applied in the police stations of the United States.

**AN EDITORIAL:**  
*In Liberty*

The United States should exert some sort of shadowy influence over Mexico.

**GLENN FRANK:**  
*President of the University of Wisconsin  
In the Magazine of Business*

The way American business is conducted affects the average American more profoundly than the way the American government is conducted.

**CURTIS W. REESE:**  
*Secretary of the Western Unitarian  
Conference  
In the Open Court*

In a period when industry has produced its greatest leaders, the church has been strikingly lacking in great leaders.

**LLOYD GEORGE:**  
*British statesman  
In his book, Liberal Points of View*

There was never a time when there were so many politicians in the wrong party.

**LOUIS FISCHER:**  
*In the Nation*

The material prosperity of Russia is undeniable.

**CHARLES A. BENNETT:**  
*In Harper's*

Biography used to be the art of exposition; now it is become the art of exposure.

**ROLLIN KIRBY:**  
*Cartoonist  
In the Century*

Of all the arts, that of painting enters least into the lives of the American public.

**ARNOLD BENNETT:**  
*British novelist and editor  
In the World Today*

Winston Churchill has less real intelligence than was ever given to a person of his brains.

**AN EDITORIAL:**  
*In the New Republic*

The Washington government is alarmed at the growing hostility toward us in Central and South America, which is beginning to be reflected in our trade figures.

**B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE:**  
*In the London Contemporary Review*

Industry has suffered enormously in the past through the mistaken policy of keeping the workers in the dark as to the vital facts of the business in which they are engaged.



# Novels for Christmas

"WHY not give him a book?"

How simple! Books are always welcome, and cost just what you want to spend.

But how are you going to find a novel that will not shock Aunt May? That will be up-to-date enough for literary Bill and Jane? That will keep Cousin George on his tips?

The following list, all novels which we recommend, are chosen with an eye to pleasing a variety of tastes. It may help you. We say "may," you notice.

First of all, there is a handful of novels of wide appeal, that are both excellent reading and considered important by the critics. For example, there is Louis Bromfield's "A Good Woman" (Stokes), or Mazo de la Roche's *Atlantic* prize-winner "Jalna" (Little, Brown), stories full of real people, replete with incident and atmosphere. Another book to solve gift problems wholesale is "Growth" (Doubleday), a collection in one volume of three of Booth Tarkington's novels of the Middle West: "Turmoil," "The Magnificent Ambersons," and "The Midlanders."

Hiding social and political philosophy behind real-seeming persons and lively plot are Wells's "Meanwhile" (Doran), and C. E. Montague's "Right Off the Map" (Doubleday), both good stories by important authors.

For those who enjoy stories of the soil, of pioneer days and types, written with high literary skill, is Glenway Wescott's "The Grandmothers," a Harper prize novel about Wisconsin, that, so a Wisconsinite tells us, is a true and fine interpretation of the land. Or Elizabeth Madox Roberts's "My Heart and My Flesh" (Viking), admirable sequel to her distinguished first novel, "The Time of Man." Here the scene is the South. Then, too, Ladislav Reymont, famous Polish author, finds a place on Christmas lists with his "Promised Land" which Knopf is publishing.



MAZO DE LA ROCHE

Willa Cather's "Death Comes for the Archbishop" (Knopf) is a beautiful book, full of the rich atmosphere of New Mexico in the days of Kit Carson and the Jesuits. A reserved, distinguished product of the best American modern literary art, it is not, however, for those who expect violent love affairs or violent action between novel covers. Another distinguished novel is Leon Feuchtwanger's "Power" (Viking), which has called forth remarks like this of Frank Swinnerton's: "It ('Power') has washed away every other novel of the year." May Sinclair's novels usually find a place in this category of first-rate fiction, but her latest, "The History of Anthony Waring" (Macmillan), is berated as a facile reproduction of her previous books.

Supremely good writing—really beautiful and fascinating writing—makes H. M. Tomlinson's "Gallion's Reach" (Harper) a particularly suitable gift book. This story of the sea and the jungle exerts a strong charm over the imagination, and is particularly welcome to the appetite jaded by sex or sordid realism.

Full of both those qualities is "Zelda Marsh" (Dutton), by Charles Norris, a realistic melo-

drama of the life and loves of a beautiful and unfortunate woman.

Adam and Eve are bound to share the Christmas of the discriminating reader. For the sophisticated, so-called, is James Branch Cabell's "Something About Eve" (McBride). It is already the sensation of the literary world,



GLENWAY WESCOTT

although certain critics ask, "Why must a man who writes as beautifully as Mr. Cabell find always the same things to talk about?" The Adam-Eve-Lilith triangle is the latest to attract Mr. Erskine, of "Helen of Troy" and "Galahad" fame. "Adam and Eve" (Bobbs, Merrill) gives an entirely new and entertaining view of the Garden of Eden. Of course, there



JOHN ERSKINE



J. BRANCH CABELL

is a great deal of conversation in the book, but as Mr. Erskine points out: What else was there to do in those carefree days?

Also for sophisticated readers is an outstanding first novel, "Dusty Answer" (Holt), by Rosamund Lehmann. It glows with life and modern viewpoint. Nancy Hoyt's "Unkind Star" (Knopf) is brilliant, facile, smart.

"The Love Child" (Viking) by Edith Olivier, is the perfect gift for those who rejoice in delicate fantasy exquisitely done.

Excellent time-passers, if negligible as brain-fodder, are Margaret Widdemer's "More than Wife" (Harcourt); Inez Haynes Irwin's "Gideon" (Harper); Louis Joseph Vance's "They Call It Love" (Lippincott); Martha Ostenso's "The Mad Carews" (Dodd, Mead); Susan Ertz's "Now East, Now West" (Appleton).

For lovers of good yarns and mystery

stories there are Locke's "The Kingdom of Theophilus" (Dodd, Mead); a new Sabatini, "The Nuptials of Corbal" (Houghton Mifflin); a rousing combination of realism and romance, "The Sentimentalists" (Little, Brown), by Dale Collins. Leonard Cline's "The Dark Chamber" (Viking) is for those who can not have a story too horrible; it rivals "Dracula." Frances Hart's "The Bellamy Trial" (Doubleday) is a thrilling high-society murder; Owen Jerome's "Hand of Horror" (Clode) piles on the fantastic and horrible a bit too thick, but we all know people who like it that way. Then there is Agatha Christie's "The Big Four" (Dodd, Mead) full of subtle detecting, or S. S. Van Dine's "Canary Murder Case" (Scribner), probably the most effective mystery story of the year.

Try Jacob Wassermann's "World's End," or Hermann Sudermann's "Mad Professor," both published by Boni and Liveright, on those who prefer transplanted literary fruits to home-grown. Or Selma Lagerlof's splendid "Charlotte Lowenskold" (Doubleday). "The Mob" by Blasco Ibáñez (Dutton) is considered the best thing he had done in a long time. We can think of a dozen more: the number of important translations grows larger every year.

Short stories make the best of gift books for Christmas, particularly when they are as new, as vividly interesting, and as meaningful in a literary way as are Ernest Hemingway's "Men Without Women" (Scribner), and Zona Gale's "Yellow Gentians and Blue" (Appleton).

### Attractive Books in the Holiday List

AMONG the important art publications this season are: "A History of American Painting" by Samuel Isham and Royal Cortissoz (Macmillan); "George W. Bellows: His Lithographs," with an introduction by Thomas Beer (Knopf); "Albert Sterner: His Life and His Art" (64 plates), text by Ralph Flint, in the series on contemporary American artists (Payson and Clark, Ltd.); and "The Great Painters in Relation to the European Tradition," by Edith R. Abbot of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Harcourt, Brace and Company).

Carl Sandburg's remarkable collection of ballads and folk songs appears under the title "The American Songbag" (Harcourt, Brace and Company). Another book of special interest to musicians is the life of Sir Arthur

Sullivan by Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower (Doran). We have also "Pages from My Life," by Feodor Ivanovitch Chaliapin (Harpers).

In the field of general biography it will probably be generally conceded that the outstanding books of the season are the first two volumes of the authorized life and letters of Woodrow Wilson by Ray Stannard Baker (Doubleday, Page and Co.) and "The Making of a State: Memories and Observations, 1914-1918," by Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak Republic (Stokes). Two outstanding American biographies are "The Portrait of a Banker: James Stillman, 1850-1918," by Anna Robeson Burr (Duffield), and "D. L. Moody: a Worker in Souls," by Gamaliel Bradford (Doran).

*For notices of current books see page 10 of the Advertising Section.*

